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OF A

TOUR IN ITALY,

WITH REFLECTIONS

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF RELIGION

IN THAT COUNTRY.

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BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS,

VOL. II.

CHAPTER XX.

FLORENCE TO ROME.

Pisa,—Decree for building the Cathedral, 1; Leghorn,—Voyage to Civita Vecchia, 2; Aspect of the country between Civita Vecchia and Rome, 3; Arrival at Rome, 4.

CHAPTER XXI.

ROME. THE CANONIZATION.

Rome,—The Canonization of the Japanese Martyrs, on Whitsunday, June 8, 1862, 6; Great concourse of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and Priests, at Rome, ib.; The Allocution of the Pope, 7; The "Indirizzo," or Address of the Bishops, ib.; Description of the Canonization, and reflections upon it, 8—13; On the Roman practice of Canonization, what it implies, 14—18; How the present Canonization differed from all preceding ones, 18—23; The sixty-one theses, 22; The "Canonization" of 1862, and the promulgation of the new dogma of 1854, 23; New Pontifical barrack, 25.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROME (*continued*).

Rome a French City, 27; Appearance of St. Peter's Church after the Canonization, 28—30; Memorials of the new dogma of Dec. 8, 1854, 31; Carlo Passaglia; striking contrasts, 31—34; His manifesto against the *temporal* power of the Papacy, 33—35; What is the real position of the 9000 Priests who have signed that Manifesto, and how are they regarded by the Papacy? 33—38, and see 260; Remarkable result,—the Papacy despoiled of its temporal power by those who call themselves its friends, and have been its vassals, 38; Reflections on the applicability of the language of Holy Scripture to these events, 38—40; Rome's "Non possumus," 40; Did she ever admit a "Non possumus" from others? 40, 41.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Ordination in the Church of St. John Lateran, 43; Description of, and reflections on, and comparison with, the English Ordinal, 49—52.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROME (*continued*).

Palazzo Parisani, 52; Fontana di Trevi, 53; Dr. Manning on the Temporal Power of the Papacy, 55; Can the Church of Rome be said to have *unity*? 56—58; "Policy of Papal news," 58; Dr. Manning's Lecture at Rome "On the relations of England to the Catholic Church," 59; His description of the present condition of the English Church, 60—62; His inferences from the Volume entitled "*Essays and Reviews*," 62; His remarks on the position of its writers, and on the reception which their work has met with, ib.; His anticipations with regard to the future, 63; Reflections on Dr. Manning's lecture, 64.

CHAPTER XXV.

ROME (*continued*).

English Church and Service at Rome, 67; Sermon at the Church of the Jesuits, 67—69; Reflections on Italian preaching, 69; S. Antony of Padua, how designated by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, 71; French Church at Rome, ib.; Sermon by the Bishop of Tulle, 72, 73; Aspect of Rome, 73, 74; Sermon by the Bishop of Orléans, 75—78.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ROME (*continued*).

The Capitol, 79; Roman apprehensions and alarms, 79—81; The Vatican,—*Stanze di Raffaelle*, 81, 82; Anniversary of the Pope's creation in 1846, June 17; Summary of events since that time, 83; Present position of the Papacy, 84; Its relation to France. Rome an Avignon in Italy, 84—86; Its relations to the rest of Italy, 86, 87; An observation of the ancient Roman historian, Livy, applicable to the present conflict, 87; Aspect of the Capitol, 88; Tarpeian Rock, 89; Palazzo Caffarelli, Baron Bunsen, 89, 90; Mamertine Prison, 90; The Forum, 91; The Colosseum, 93; S. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John. His words to the Roman Christians, 95; Reflections, 96; Church of S. Clement, 97; Succession of earliest Roman Bishops; its uncertainty, inference from, 98, 99; Villa on Monte Mario, view from, 99, 100; Roman Monopolies, 100, 101.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ROME (*continued*).

Church of St. John Lateran, 103; Lateran Councils, History of, with reference to the present times, 103—105; "Scala Santa," 105; An "Index Expurgatorius" needed at Rome for a special purpose, 106; Lateran Museum, 107; Ancient Christian pictures,

from the Catacombs, 108; Ancient Christian statue, 109; S. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus near Rome, ib.; Two discoveries with regard to S. Hippolytus, 109—111; His history, how applicable to the present times, 110—113; Walk from St. John Lateran to S. Gregorio, 113; Summer in Rome, ib.; Cloaca Maxima, 114.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Early Summer mornings in Rome, 116; Festival of *Corpus Domini*, 117; Its history, 117—119; Description of the ceremonial of the day, 119—122; Hymns sung on the occasion, 123—129; Reflections on the Ceremonial, 130—132; On the secular display of the Hierarchy, 133; Sermon in the evening at S. Maria sopra Minerva, 133—137.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ROME (*continued*).

Signor Augusto Castellani, 138; Ancient Art of Etruria, 138, 139; The Pinacoteca of the Vatican, 139, 140.

CHAPTER XXX.

ROME (*continued*).

Museum of the Collegio Romano, 142; Graffito, Ancient Caricature on Christianity, 142—144; Heathen calumny against Jews and Christians, 145; Evidence from this Caricature, in favour of the truth of Christianity, 146; Evidence of the Divinity of Christ, 14, 147; St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, probably in the neighbourhood of the Palace of the Cæsars, 147; His address from Rome to Roman colonists, contrasted with this Caricature, 147, 148; The influence of the Jesuits in Clerical education at Rome, 149; Display of political feeling in theological seminaries, 149, 150; Altercation between the Crown and the Chapter of Naples, 151.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ROME (*continued*).

Visit to the learned Editor of the Vatican MS., 152; The Church of Rome and editions of the Holy Scriptures, 153; His edition of the Latin Vulgate Version of the Bible, 155; His candid avowal concerning Genesis iii. 15, 155, 156; How is that text dealt with by the Pope, and by Papal Theologians? 156, 157; Rome and the Vulgate, 157; How the Vulgate itself is a witness *against* Rome, 158; What is the Faith of the Church of England? 158, 159. Rome professes to have a "living infallible Interpreter of Holy Scripture," 159; How that Interpreter deals with Scripture, and the Catholic Faith, 159, 160; Where is the Interpreter of the Faith in the Church of England? 160. 162; The Gorham Judgment as described by a Romish Theologian, 162; Has the Church of England the true succession from the Apostles and from their Divine Lord? ib.; Is it necessary to be in communion with the so-called successor of St. Peter in all his dogmatic decrees? 163; Eagerness of the Church of Rome to make use of such books as "*Essays and Reviews*," &c., as weapons against the Church of England, 164, 165; Practical lessons to be thence learnt by members of the Church of England, 165; Rejoinder to the Church of Rome; How *she* treats Holy Scripture, 165—168; Sanguine confidence and exultation of Rome at this time, 168, 169.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ROME (*continued*).

Excursion to the Catacomb of S. Callistus, on the Via Appia, 170; Objects visited in the way thither, 171; Tombs of the Scipios, 171, 172; Reflections, 172; Columbarium, 173; Coincidences of Names inscribed there, and occurring in the salutations of St. Paul writing to the Romans, ib.; Inference therefrom, ib.; Arch of Drusus, 174; Catacomb of Callistus, ib.; Various modes of Roman interment at various times, 175; Social change wrought by Christianity, 175, 176; "Catacomb of Callistus," why so called,

176; Bishops of Rome buried there, 177; Greek element in the ancient Church of Rome, 179, 180; Simplicity of the epitaphs of the earlier Bishops of Rome, 180; The ancient Bishops of Rome, were they all *Martyrs*? Modern errors as to this matter; in the Roman Breviary, 181, 182; Frauds practised by means of materials derived from the Catacombs, 184; A remarkable specimen of this; in which the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, and others, were concerned, 184—189; Malaria. Can Rome become the Capital of Italy? 188; The *Ghetto* or "*Jewry*," at Rome, 189; The Church of Rome cannot convert the Jews, 191, 192; Present hindrances to the conversion of the Jews, 191; What may lead to their conversion, 192; Prayer of St. Paul, 192, 193.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Address of the Italian Parliament to the King, on the subject of the Address of the Bishops to the Pope, 194, 195; Remarks on that Address of the Parliament, and inferences from it, 194—198; Manifesto of Italian Priests, 198; No Reformation can be effected in Italy till the constitution of the Episcopate is restored to its ancient model, 199; What are the real questions to be examined by the Italian Parliament with regard to the Papacy, and on which the Papacy is to be required to show cause for its present pretensions? 200—203; Are there no Sarpis at Turin? 203.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ROME (*continued*).

Vatican Library, 205; Vatican MS. of the Bible, 205, 206; Mr. Burgon's important remark, 206; Visit to Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, ib.; His magnificent work on ancient Christian Inscriptions, 207; Inferences, historical and religious, from the ancient Inscriptions, 207, 208; Palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, 209; Works of mind compared with those of matter, 210; Inscriptions in chambers of the Palatine, 211; English Gasworks, ib.;

Roman Pasquinade, 212; Church of St. Paul, 212, 213; Its columns,—their history, 213, 214; "Appian Way," St. Paul and St. Luke, 214, 215; Apostolic engineering, 216, 217.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ROME (*continued*).

St. John the Baptist's Day at the Church of St. John Lateran, 218; Description of the Ceremonial: the Pope: the Cardinals, 219—221; Behaviour of the congregation, 219, 220; Splendour of Papal cavalcade, 221, 222; A "festa di precetto," how kept, 222, 223; Lottery in aid of the Pope, 222; Can Rome become the Capital of Italy? 223; Analysis of the population of Rome, their habits, &c.; and of the causes of the influence of the Papacy, 223—227; What is their intellectual and spiritual diet? 224, 225; What would Rome be (for some time at least) without the Pope? 223—226; But might not Rome be revived? 228; Means and processes of reanimation, 228—231; Remarks of a Roman resident, 231; The "Roman question," 232, 233.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ROME TO GENOA.

Voyage from Rome to Genoa, 234; Passengers on board, 235, 236; Conversation on the vacancies of Italian Bishoprics and other Ecclesiastical dignities, 234; Remarks on the position of Padre Passaglia, 235, 236; American Roman Catholic Bishop on the Law of Divorce, and Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 237; What has been the influence of the Papacy in these two matters? 237, 238; Roman Catholic Priests, and their diligent use of their Breviaries, 238; Remarks on the value and need of external religion; Bishop Butler, 238—240; Roman Catholic Bishops of the Southern States not allowed to be present at the Canonization, 240; Confederate Roman Catholic American Bishops absent from the Canonization, 241; Portuguese Bishops absent also, ib.; Arrival at Genoa; its beauty, 241, 242.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GENOA TO TURIN.

The "*Opinione*" on Bishops, 243; Inferences, 243, 244; Turin,—its present importance: how produced, 245; Piedmont and Macedon, ib.; Farther analogy: probable result of its pre-eminence, 246; The House of Savoy and the Papacy: Retribution for the past, 246, 247; English Chapel and Vaudois Church, 247; Vaudois endowment: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 247, 248; Hopes of union, 248, 249; Evils of dissensions among Protestants, 249; Example of their effects, ib.; Appeal to our Nonconformist brethren, 250; Evils of Romanism as affecting the Policy of the Italian Parliament and Government, 250, 251; Want of learning among Italian Statesmen, as to the History of the Canon Law, and also as to the principles of ancient Ecclesiastical Law, 252; Consequent weakness and exasperation, 252—254; Concessions of Count Cavour, and of Baron Ricasoli, 252, 253; Rosmini and Ricasoli compared, 253, 254; How to *begin* Reformation in Italy, 254, 255; A Priest suspended for being a Member of Parliament, 255, 256.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TURIN.

Passaglia, 257, 258; His Petition to the Pope, 259, 260; Under a ban of Excommunication, and forbidden to preach, ib.; His remarks on English Theology, 261—264; On the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, 261; Passaglia on a passage of S. Irenæus, 261, 262; What is its true meaning? 262, 263; Passaglia on the Spiritual Supremacy of the Pope, 263, 264; Interdicted from preaching at Milan, 264; Parallel between the Roman Hierarchy and the Priesthood at Jerusalem, 265, 266; Teaching of our Blessed Lord and His Apostles with regard to civil obedience, 266; How applicable at the present time, 267; Is it obeyed by the Papacy? 265—268; Letter of the Clergy of Liège to Pope Paschalis II., 268; Opinions of a distinguished Statesman on the present position of Italian affairs, 269—277; With regard to the Crown

and the Court, 270, 271; Letter of Massimo D'Azeglio, ib.; True policy with regard to the Monarchy, 272; Reference to the case of Louis XIV., 272, 273; Relations of Italy with France, 273; Embarrassments of the French Executive, 273, 274; Temper of the Italian People with regard to Religion, 274, 275; Attack on the image of the Madonna at Turin, 276; Peculiar advantages of Milan for the work of religious Reformation, 277; Complaints of the Hierarchy against the Government, 277, 278; Arcivescovado, 278; The Archbishopric now vacant, 278, 279; Evil effects of *Concordats* between Sovereigns and Popes, 279; What is to be done now that the contracting parties disagree? 279, 280; Sir James Hudson, 280.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PARIS.

Passage over Mont Cenis, 281; Arrival at Paris, 282; Funeral: reflections on, 282—284; Sermon at the Madeleine, 285; French Preaching, 285, 286; Remarks on the change produced in religious Art by the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception, 286; Its influence on worship, 287; Its influence also on public morality, 288—290; Probable results, 290.

CHAPTER XL.

PARIS (*continued*).

Sorbonne, 291; Notre Dame, ib.; Coadjutor Bishops, 291, 292; New Churches in France, 292; Vexatious processes to be gone through before a Church can be built, 291; Consequences of undue secular interference in spiritual matters, 293; How Erastianism has aided the cause of Ultramontanism in France, 293, 294; How it has placed the Church in an anti-national position, 295—297; Gallican Breviaries and Gallican Liberties sacrificed, 295; Prejudice thus created in France against the theory of National Churches, 295. 297. 305; and against the Church of England, ib.; M. Guizot's important observations on the Church of England, 297—304; Evil results of the triumph of Ultramontanism in France, 305—308; M. l'Abbé Guettée, 306; Prospects of France,

307, 308; Prospects of the present Dynasty, 307. 309; Reflections on the present aspect of the French Capital, 309, 310; Prospects of Europe, 311—313.

CHAPTER XLI.

LETTERS FROM FRENCH BISHOPS.

Letters from Bishops of France on the Principles of the English Church and Reformation, 313—324.

CHAPTER XLII.

THREE LETTERS "ON THE PRESENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COURT OF ROME AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY," 325—332.

CHAPTER XX.

FLORENCE TO ROME.

Tuesday, *June* 10*th*.—Leave Florence, at ten minutes to seven A.M., for Pisa; picturesque appearance of towns perched on hills, with churches, campaniles, convents, and castles. Here and there the road runs by the side of the Arno, amid vines hanging in festoons from maple-trees and elms. Arrive at Pisa at half-past nine; make an other visit to the Duomo or Cathedral. What a noble decree was that of the Pisans about eight hundred years ago, when they resolved to erect this magnificent building to the glory of God, as a thank-offering for their commercial prosperity, and for the success of their arms in Sicily against the Saracens! May not the great commercial Nations, in this age of

enlightenment, learn some lessons of true wisdom and patriotism from the merchant princes of Italy in the middle ages?

Reach Leghorn at half-past one P.M.; go to the Consul's office of the Papal States to procure a *visa* for passport, the first *visa* that has been demanded of us since we left England; go on board the steamer, the "Provence;" a beautiful night, with a glorious full moon streaming on the calm sea; the eve of St. Barnabas; remained on deck all night. Under such circumstances, at night on the sea shining brightly with the light of moon and stars, one can hardly fail to experience some of the spiritual comfort which cheered that holy Apostolic missionary, and others like him in every age, in their voyages over the deep, bearing the light of the Gospel to heathen lands, and gladdened by the spiritual light within them, shedding its beams on their path.

Arrive at Civita Vecchia at half-past eight A.M.; luggage minutely examined at the Custom-house, but all charges of landing, &c., fixed by tariff, and much trouble saved thereby. The waiting-room, &c., at the Station, does

credit to the Papal Government, and to the management of the Director, M. Brockmann. Leave Civita Vecchia on Wednesday morning, June 11th, at half-past eleven; the railway runs for some time along the coast, and then through a flat dreary country, here and there diversified by a dilapidated, desolate casale, or a middle-age fortress in ruins. Occasional patches of corn, and luxuriant grass, and large tracts of waste land, overgrown with poppies, and thistles, and here and there beautiful pools of clear, fresh water, running in long conduits, and ministering refreshment to herds of noble oxen and buffaloes. How great are the capabilities of this country, if it were properly cultivated! But, as Pliny said of old, the "latifundia," or vast farms, without sufficient capital or labour expended upon them, have been ruinous to Italy; and the malaria comes and takes possession of what is abandoned by man; and instead of being, as it might be, a fair garden, this tract of country is almost a desolate wilderness. Even the railway stations fail to attract any population, and are mere isolated huts or sheds, with a single gendarme standing at the door, as if in despair of finding a

neighbourhood. At last you catch a sight of St. John Lateran, and St. Peter's, and Monte Testaccio.

The train was almost filled with French soldiers sent by Napoleon III. to Rome, to protect the Pope. I sat next to a French "Sœur de Charité," who was going on a mission of love to the same city. Among the bustle of travellers eagerly stirring about in the hot cabin,—for it is little better,—in which we were packed on our arrival at Rome, she stood by herself, calm, gentle, and self-collected in her religious dress, a "lilium inter spinas."

"But can this city ever become the Capital of Italy?" is the thought which suggests itself when you sit in this waiting-room of the Terminus of the Railway, which is now the principal entrance to Rome. Can this be the Capital of Italy? A French officer was my companion on the *banquette* of the omnibus which carried us through the half-deserted streets that brought us from the station through the Porta Portese, by the prison of S. Michele, and through the Borgo S. Spirito, over the Tiber, by the Ponte S. Angelo, to the Campo Marzo. He did not seem to have

much respect for those whom he and his troops had come to protect, but amused himself with criticizing the appearance, &c., of the Pontifical Zouaves.

CHAPTER XXI.

ROME. THE CANONIZATION.

With all its melancholy appearance, dilapidation, dirtiness, decay, and desolation, which fill the heart with sadness, on the first entrance into Rome, especially from Civita Vecchia, Rome has still a position in the world which no other city can boast. At this time it has attracted thousands and tens of thousands, from almost every part of the world. Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, nearly 300 in number, and an immense concourse of Ecclesiastics, about 3000, and of people from all quarters, are now dwelling at Rome, at Whitsuntide; and some have even ventured to compare this gathering to that of "devout men, out of every region under heaven," on the day of Pentecost, listening to the voice of St. Peter. Indeed, this is the comparison used by Cardinal Mattei, in the

name of all the Bishops, in his address to Pope Pius IX., in the Consistory held the day before yesterday [1].

Every one's mind seems full of that Address, and of the Pope's Allocution which preceded it. The occasion which produced it, the Canonization of twenty-seven persons [2], who

[1] See the commencement of their *Indirizzo*, or Address, to the Pope. Whence did the 265 Bishops learn, that on the Day of Pentecost, the Apostles "were seated by *the side of the Blessed Virgin*," when the tongues came down upon them? Their words in their Address to the Pope are, "We feel our own tongues thrilling with the flame of that sacred fire, which inflamed the most gentle heart of *Mary, at whose side the Apostles were sitting*." With like confidence, Roman Divines and Painters, in the present day, place the Blessed Virgin among the Apostles at the *Ascension*, without any warrant from Scripture, and against the earlier tradition of the Roman Church itself; see the poem of Arator, deacon of Rome, which he inscribed to Pope Vigilius, "on the Acts of the Apostles," in the sixth century, i. 55.

They also say in their Address, that "Mary was *enriched* by Pius IX., with the title of Immaculate," ("Immaculatæ titulo per Te *aucta*,") and thus they bear witness to its *novelty as an article of Faith*.

[2] Twenty-six Martyrs and one Confessor, Michele de Sanctis.

died at Nangasachi in Japan, more than 260 years ago, viz. on Feb. 5, 1597, was indeed a memorable event, but in some respects of secondary importance to what was produced by it.

Canonizations are not infrequent at Rome. Nearly a hundred are enumerated by those who have written upon this subject, for example by Dr. Giacinto Amici, of "the Sacred Congregation of Rites." But the Canonization which took place in St. Peter's Church on Sunday last, Whitsunday, the great Festival when all Christendom celebrates the Descent of the Holy Spirit from Heaven, was not only remarkable in itself, but of an extraordinary character in its circumstances and consequences.

The Church of St. Peter was adorned with gorgeous decorations, and blazed with the splendour of many thousand lights, and was embellished with pictures representing the miracles said to have been wrought by those whose names were enrolled by the Pope in the Catalogue of Saints; and their standards, magnificently emblazoned, floated in the air.

If the blessed spirits of the Martyrs are

conscious of earthly things, surely they must be deeply grieved by such homage as this. The brilliant and ostentatious magnificence of the ceremonial could have little charms for those "holy and humble men of heart." Canonizations are costly things. Sanctity is purchased at a high price at Rome [3].

The enormous expense, calculated at more than 40,000 scudi, gathered together *as Alms*, especially by the Franciscans, to whose Order most of the twenty-six Martyrs belonged, would have naturally suggested the question, why this was not rather devoted to the glory of God, in the promotion of the Missionary cause, to which they gave their lives. Their own escutcheons, brilliantly embroidered with heraldic pomp, would have had little attrac-

[3] See above, Chap. VI., near the end. Cardinal Wiseman, in his recent address to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Westminster, says, "You are aware that the preliminaries of Canonization are numerous, and often extend through generations, and even centuries, and may be interrupted by wars, by revolutions, by *political separations*, by relaxations of zeal, or by *deficiency* of *pecuniary means!*"

"Omnia *Romæ* cum *pretio*" (Juvenal iii. 184) is too true now.

tion for their meek and gentle hearts. How much more would they rejoice to see efforts of quiet self-sacrifice, and fervent zeal to advance the standard of the Cross! We are told by the *Osservatore Romano* that 37,000 *pounds* of *wax* were used on the occasion, to illuminate St. Peter's at mid-day! Might not their value have been better spent, and in a manner more pleasing to the souls of the Martyrs, in dispelling the darkness of heathenism, and diffusing the light of the Gospel? Surely the light which blazed there on Whitsunday, had little resemblance to that which came down from Heaven on the Day of Pentecost.

But one of the circumstances of this great ceremonial must have been still less acceptable to the souls of the holy men for whose honour it was devised. For weeks and months the Church of St. Peter had been undergoing a sort of architectural revolution, to prepare it for this Canonization. Indeed, in an engraving just published at Rome, which represents that ceremonial, the master of the works, Signor Poletti, is designated as the *architect* of the design which transformed St. Peter's for the occasion.

Pictures had been painted, and placed in lunettes, fourteen in number, scaffoldings erected, columns and architraves fashioned and fixed, aisles and arches blocked up, till St. Peter's, at last, might be said almost to have lost its identity. Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops had been summoned to the Canonization from all parts of the world.

And yet on the very day of the Canonization, when thousands were assembled in St. Peter's prepared for the purpose, the Church of Rome, in the person of her Pontiff, professed to be *patiently waiting* for the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to teach her how to proceed! "After vows" she "made inquiry[4]." With a semblance of holy caution, and reverential awe, she sent up solemn supplications to heaven, for the illumination of the Holy Spirit; and she made Him, as it were, to be responsible for a foregone conclusion, on which she herself had resolved many weeks before, namely, for the Canonization of twenty-seven persons, henceforth "to be venerated as

[4] Prov. xx. 25.

Saints, and to be invoked in prayer by all the faithful of Christ[5]." Indeed she even feigned to be extremely reluctant to do the very thing for which she herself had made all this vast preparation.

The Procurator of the Canonization was instructed by her to entreat earnestly (*instanter*) the Pope to comply with his wishes, and to canonize the Martyrs. He knelt before the Pope, and uttered his prayer. But no, the intimation from above had not yet been received. They must pray again for it. The Procurator must kneel again before the Pope, and reiterate his entreaty, earnestly and more earnestly ("*instanter et instantius*"). But still the petition is not granted; he must wait longer, and must pray again. Then the Pontiff himself invokes the Holy Spirit. He intones the Hymn, "Veni, Creator Spiritus."

The Procurator repeated his petition for the third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most

[5] As a specimen of the language of the Papal decree on the occasion, it may suffice to mention that "Michele de Sanctis, one of the twenty-seven," (who was not a Martyr, but a Confessor,) is said to have "not at all differed from Angels, except in having a mortal body."

earnestly, ("*instanter*, *instantius*, *et instantissimè*,") that the Martyrs may be enrolled by the Pope in the Catalogue of Saints, and be venerated as such by all the faithful of Christ.

Then at length the Roman Pontiff, having his mitre on his head, and sitting on his Throne, at the west end of St. Peter's Church, with long lines of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, ranged on his right hand, and on his left, pronounced the memorable words, "*Beatos* (here were recited the names of the Martyrs) *sanctos esse decernimus et definimus, ac sanctorum catalogo adscribimus, statuentes ab Ecclesiâ Universali* eorum memoriam annuo die eorum natali piâ devotione recoli debere, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritûs Sancti. Amen."

He then commenced the *Te Deum;* and after it he *prayed to the Saints*, whom he himself had canonized, "orate pro nobis." After he had hewn out his idol, he fell down and worshipped it [6].

[6] Isaiah xliv. 17. "The residue thereof he maketh a god, even his graven image: he falleth down unto it, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, Deliver me."

Such was the event of last Sunday, the feast of Pentecost, at Rome.

The circumstances of that event supply a sufficient answer to those who say that the only difference between *Roman* practice and that of the rest of Christendom is this, that whereas *other* Christians designate holy men (such as the Evangelists, Apostles, and some of the Ancient Fathers) as Saints, by their own act of private judgment, the Church of Rome does it with *Authority*. For what is a Canonization? what was the act of Sunday last? It was not simply an expression of opinion that such and such persons are holy, and that their memories ought to be venerated. No; the Church of Rome has *another* ceremony, that of *Beatification*, which brings out strongly what she means by *Canonization*. One of her Pontiffs, Benedict XIV., in his work on Canonization, has explained her mind in this respect;

"By *beatification* (he says) the Pope *allows* a servant of God to be venerated with ecclesiastical honour (cultus); *but* in *a Canonization*, the Pope pronounces a judicial sentence and decree, by which he *commands* and *or-*

dains that the *entire Catholic world* should honour, and *offer prayers to*, the person or persons who are canonized[7]."

Such was the act of Sunday last. If the souls of the martyrs were cognizant of what was then done, what must have been their emotions? And how must this act have been viewed by Him, who did see it, and to whose ever-blessed Name that Day is consecrated,—how must it have been regarded by the Holy Spirit of Truth who dwells in the Church of Christ? In what light must it have appeared to Him who "is a jealous God," and who will "not give His honour to another?"

Strange indeed it is, that a frail man, one who may himself be set on the left hand at the Day of Judgment, should assume to himself the power of God, and seat himself on the Throne of judgment, and decree men to be Saints, and assign to them a share in God's honour, and command all the faithful of Christ

[7] See Pope *Benedict XIV.* de Beatif. et Canon. § i. 37, and *Cardinal Bellarmin*, De cultu Sanctorum, i. c. vii., who says that "Canonization is that judicial sentence, by which those honours are decreed, which are due to them who *reign in bliss with God.*"

throughout the whole world to bow down and offer prayers and supplications to them, and make them into Mediators between God and man, although God Himself has not given us any warrant for the belief that the Saints departed hear our prayers, or, if they do, are able to grant them; and has taught us that all prayer must be offered with faith, and that whatever prayer is offered otherwise [8] is sinful and offensive in His sight.

This claim of the Pope to *give places* in *heaven* to those whom he canonizes, is boldly put forth in the Medal which has just been struck at Rome, and which represents Religion seated at the Vatican, with a crown and palm in one hand, and the Cross, the Tiara, and the Keys, and looking up to heaven to twenty-seven stars, representing these twenty-seven saints, and which bears this inscription,

"Sanctorum Mater quos *dat nova sidera cœlo.*"

Here also a question arises. If the Roman Pontiff may "define and decree" men to be Saints, and that they are to be invoked in prayer by all Christians, how is it that this

[8] Rom. xiv. 23. James i. 6, 7.

power was never exercised by the Apostles or other Bishops in the best ages of Christianity? Did St. Peter or St. Clement ever canonize Martyrs, and pray to them for aid? No. Did Pope Leo I., or Pope Gregory I.? No. Did any of the early Bishops of Rome? No. The researches of Pope Benedict XIV. on this subject have discovered no instance of a Canonization by a Pope for about a thousand years after the birth of Christ. The first Canonization recorded is that of S. Uldaric, by John XV., in 993[9]. The comparative novelty of the practice is a strong argument against it. And when we consider what the act of Canonization amounts to, that it is equivalent to an assumption of the Attributes of Divine knowledge and judicial authority, and that it displays itself in raising mortal men, as objects of devotion and prayer, almost to a level with the Godhead, we are constrained to say, that the Roman Pontiff, *sitting on his throne in the Church of God*, and issuing a decree to

[9] A papal journal which is published at Rome, entitled the "Civiltà Cattolica," modestly asserts that "the authentic documents of all the Canonizations anterior to the tenth century are *lost*." (June 7, 1862, p. 545.) Is Rome so careless of her ancient documents?

the whole world, as he did last Sunday, and commanding them to venerate and offer prayers to twenty-seven men, who died in a distant land more than 250 years ago, may almost be said to have identified himself with one who is described by the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul as "*sitting* in the *Temple of God*, and *showing himself as if he were God*[1]."

One further reflection here.

As was already said, about a hundred Canonizations have taken place at Rome. But the Canonization of the present week differs from all preceding ones. It differs from them in the vast assemblage of Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, and others who have been convened to take part in it, and who have associated themselves with it. And it stands unprecedented in another respect also. It was a *religious* act done for a *secular purpose*, and for a *temporal end*. This is evident from that vast concourse of the Roman Hierarchy from all parts of the world, who greatly outnumbered the Bishops assembled at the Council of Trent[2]. Their

[1] 2 Thess. ii. 4.

[2] Cardinal Wiseman, in his Reply to the Roman Catholic Clergy of "the Archdiocese of Westminster,"

presence was in no wise necessary for a Canonization. The other Canonizations at Rome have been effected without any such assemblage. No: it was not to take part in a Canonization that the Bishops of the Roman world were summoned to leave their flocks at Whitsuntide, when they might have been expected to be holding Ordinations in their Cathedrals, and to be administering the Apostolic Rite of Confirmation in their own Dioceses. It was not for any religious ceremonial that they were convoked. But the *religious ceremonial* itself was made the *pretext* for their convocation and meeting together for a *secular end;* for the maintenance of the temporal power of the Pope[3]. For this end St.

p. 32, says, "scarcely for an œcumenical council had there ever been such a concourse of Bishops, never on an errand of such pure feeling. The wisdom of the Episcopate has been rarely so copiously brought together, its hearts certainly never."

[3] Cardinal Wiseman disputes this conclusion in his Reply to the Roman Catholic Clergy "of the Archdiocese of Westminster," p. 20, and in support of his denial he appeals to the presence of *Cardinal Antonelli* at the Canonization in the habit of a deacon. "If beforehand,"

Peter's Church was decorated with silk and brocade and crimson velvet, and illuminated with many thousand lights, and adorned with painting and banners. For this end the Holy Spirit Himself was invoked, and the "Te Deum" was sung. And if any one had the least doubt (as scarcely any one in Italy has even among the peasants themselves) whether this was, or was not, the real *end* and *aim* of the Papacy in the present Canonization of the Martyrs of Japan, let him read the Pope's Allocution to the Priests who have flocked to

he says, "any one had entertained the popular idea, that all this gathering had a merely *political* object, he must now have felt that it was *purely sacerdotal and ecclesiastical*, when he beheld even the *Roman Statesman* who has courageously kept at bay, for years, the enemies that would have swallowed up the entire dominions of his sovereign, now in the subordinate habit of the deacon, bearing devoutly in his uplifted hands the divine mysteries for the Pontiff's participation."

But is not this the very thing which is deplored by pious and thoughtful men, that, when the Church of Rome desires to accomplish her *secular* purposes, she resorts to *spiritual* pretexts? she dresses up her diplomatists as deacons, and puts a chalice into their hands?

Rome, and who assembled in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican last Friday. Not a single word does it contain concerning the Martyrs. Let him read the Allocution pronounced by the Pope himself to the Cardinals and Bishops in the Consistory held on the morrow of the Canonization; let him read the Address of the 265 Bishops, signed on the very day of the Canonization, and delivered by Cardinal Mattei in that Consistory, in the name of the Roman Episcopate, against those who impugn the Pope's temporal power [1].

[1] E. g. the Pope's Allocution affirms that the "temporal monarchy of the Roman See is necessary," execrates the "impious conspiracy and the wicked arts and contrivances of those who desire to overthrow and subvert the civil monarchy of the Apostolic See," and as to their opinions, "reprobamus, proscribimus, atque damnamus," says the Pope. And the Indirizzo of the Bishops (which is dated June 8th, and was recited on the 9th) echoes that language, and declares that all who hold the States of the Church, (the King of Italy,) are guilty of sacrilege; that all their acts in so doing are null and void; and they themselves are liable to ecclesiastical censures and penalties. . . . But scarcely five words are said concerning the *Japanese Martyrs* in these lengthy documents.

If, then, those holy men, who were martyred in Japan, were cognizant of the proceedings which have taken place in connexion with their Canonization, surely they might well feel sorrow and grief that their names, which Rome professes to honour, were used to give a specious colour of spirituality to an act of state policy; and they would have said with honest indignation, worthy of Christian Martyrs,—"*If* the temporal power of the Papacy ought to be maintained, let it be maintained on its own merits; and *if* the Patriarchs and Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, of the Roman world, ought to be summoned to its defence, let them be summoned openly for that purpose. But let not the Roman Pontiff profess to be so desirous of raising saints to seats of glory in heaven, in order that he may secure his own throne upon earth [5]." And

[5] An additional evidence of the real character and purpose of this great gathering of Bishops has been supplied by a remarkable document, which has been brought to light *some months after* the Canonization; and strange to say has first been published by *Passaglia*, in his Journal "The Mediatore" (for Oct. 25th, 1862), that same Journal which contains the names of 9000

whatever might be the case with the Martyrs, who are merely men, may we not with reverence say, that the Holy Spirit would be grievously provoked by that hollow pretence and hypocritical profession of reverential caution and circumspection, which, according to a stereotyped formula, feigned unwillingness to do what it had itself commanded to be done? Would not the Holy Spirit be grieved and provoked by that miserable dissimulation, which, with a ready-made conclusion in its mind, invoked His divine guidance and illumination for a process already determined, and sued for His benediction in exalting God's creatures to a participation in that homage, which belongs only to God; and which attempted to make the Holy Spirit of Truth an abettor in

Priests, who have prayed the Pope to surrender his temporal power.

This singular document consists of *sixty-one theses,* or propositions, which were communicated by the Pope to the Bishops at the Canonization; and are intended to supply material for "a dogmatic Bull," condemnatory of certain popular opinions on State Policy, which are specially obnoxious to the Papacy, and are adverse to its temporal power.

an act of disingenuousness and equivocation, and even of blasphemy against the Most High?

This Canonization of the Martyrs on Sunday last, may therefore take its place by the side of that other act of the Papacy; which was performed in this Church, on the 8th Dec., 1854, in the presence, and with the concurrence, of a large number of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, convened for that purpose, namely, for the promulgation of a *new article of faith*, the dogma of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin Mary—a dogma which exalts her to a participation in that original sinlessness which belongs only to Christ. And may we not say that these two acts of the Church of Rome are filling up the cup of God's wrath against her, and are even now making it overflow with the bitter outpourings of His indignation upon her?

Many are the speculations which are now rife at Rome concerning the secret history of the Papal Allocution, and of the Episcopal Address in reply. But these conjectures are of little importance in com-

parison with the documents themselves. There is little doubt that the Episcopal Address was drawn up under the superintendence of Cardinal Wiseman[6].

To-day, June 12th, the Pope went with a numerous cavalcade to the Porta Pia, at the north-east side of Rome, to be present at the laying of the first stone of a new Pontifical

[6] Indeed this has been avowed by the Cardinal himself, in his reply to the Roman Catholic Clergy of the "Archdiocese of Westminster;" he there states that he was chosen to preside over the Committee of eighteen Bishops, (p. 24,) who had the task of framing the Address, and who, he says, "represented the entire Episcopate, and would have represented it with equal advantage in any other period of the Church (p. 28) . . . A singular wisdom seemed to me," he says, "to have presided over the actual, whatever might have been any other possible, choice. Deliberations, more minute, more mutually respectful, more courteous, or at the same time, more straightforward and unflinching, could hardly have been carried on. More learning in theology and canon law, more deep religious feeling, a graver sense of the responsibility laid upon the commission, or a more scrupulous regard to the claims of justice, and no less of mercy, could scarcely have been exhibited. Its spirit was one of mildness, of gentleness, and of reverence to him who rightly claimed it."

barrack, which is to be built on the site of the ancient "Castra Prætoriana," the military quarters of the Imperial body-guard. He was attended by De Merode, Minister of War, Cardinal Wiseman, and other Bishops, among whom an Irish Prelate, Archbishop Cullen, was commissioned to take a leading part in the ceremonial.

CHAPTER XXII.

ROME (*continued*).

Friday, June 13.—Went from the Corso toward St. Peter's, with the English Consul, to whose friendship, begun thirty years ago, on my first visit to Rome, we are indebted for many kindnesses. Crossed the Ponte Sant' Angelo. The Castle Saint Angelo, the Papal fortress, is now a French powder-magazine, and the French tricolor flag floats over its entrance. In fact, Rome may now almost be called a French City. Many of the Convents have become barracks for the French troops, of whom there are about 12,000 in Rome. French soldiers are quartered in the Palace of the Inquisition near St. Peter's, and in the Convent of Ara Cœli on the Capitol. Roman Poets complained of old that Rome had become a Greek City,—

"—— non possum ferre, *Quirites*,
Græcam Urbem,"

said Juvenal[1], with a strong emphasis and indignant contrast between the words *Quirites* and *Græcam* Urbem. What would they say now?

The interior of St. Peter's presented a strange spectacle. Workmen were busy in removing the apparatus which had been erected for the ceremonial of the Canonization.

They were mounting up ladders, and running along scaffolds with hammers and ropes in their hands, eagerly engaged in dismantling the Church of the drapery with which it had been dressed up for that Ceremonial. The Church was a scene of bustle and confusion. The noble marble pilasters of this august fabric had been covered over with coloured paper, and the magnificent arches of the nave had been fitted up with huge columns, backed with silk and velvet, with gilded festoons supporting the lunettes, in which were frescoes representing the acts and sufferings of the Japanese Martyrs. How the Pope and Prelates

[1] iii. 60.

of Rome, who may see daily in the Vatican the most beautiful works of ancient and modern art, both in sculpture and painting, could tolerate these wretched processes of ecclesiastical upholstery and millinery, is beyond all powers of conception. Is it that they cannot appreciate what is noble in its native beauty, and must adulterate it with counterfeits? We saw one of these colossal columns let down to the pavement by ropes and pulleys, and we were surprised to find that it was hollow like a drum, and ingeniously put together with long thin laths, covered over with coarse canvas and with tinted marble paper, and surmounted with stucco capitals. Some of the workmen were stripping off the paper in shreds from these pasteboard columns, and splitting up their materials for easy removal. In fact, the whole process resembled that which might be seen in a theatre, the morning after the representation of some gorgeous dramatic spectacle. And this was in the noblest Church of Christendom! The real beauties of the building were disguised, and sham, tawdry unrealities were displayed in their stead. Was not this like a judicial retribution? Was it not an

apt emblem of the true character of the ceremonial itself, for which all this apparatus had been contrived? Was not *that* also a religious drama, a scenic spectacle? brilliant and dazzling to the eye, with much show of religion, but with no soundness and solidity; an unreal phantom, a hollow pageant, a splendid mockery; a spiritual ceremony designed to serve a secular purpose, and characterized by much profession of humility, piety, and reverential awe, but, in truth, very derogatory to the dignity of the Godhead itself?

No wonder that the Romans, accustomed to see what is hollow and false in the forms of religion, should indulge in humorous sarcasms upon them. No wonder that this theatric transformation should have provoked a smile and a jest. "Is the Pope going to leave Rome?" is the question often asked at this critical time. "Yes, to be sure he is," was the reply, "he is making ready for his journey from the Vatican, and he has already *packed up St. Peter's*" (ha imballato S. Pietro).

A friend of ours who was present at the Canonization, deplored that the beautiful western lights of the Church were blocked up

on that occasion, and that the atmosphere of the Church was reduced by the vast number of candles and their smoke to the dun yellow hue of a London fog.

Near the west[2] end of St. Peter's, on opposite sides of the Church, are marble slabs let into the wall, which commemorate the promulgation of the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception* by Pius IX., on Dec. 8, 1854; on which occasion, as an inscription there affirms, "he fulfilled the desire of the whole Catholic world," by decreeing as an article of faith, that the Blessed Virgin was exempt from original sin. On other slabs of marble are inscribed the names of the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops who assisted at that promulgation. There is *one* name which is *not there;* the name of a person who was not a Cardinal, Archbishop, or Bishop, but who was "pars magna," or rather "pars maxima," next to the Pope—*Carlo Passaglia.* He was selected by the Pope to be the advocate of

[2] It will be remembered that St. Peter's does not stand east and west, but that the entrance is at the *east* end.

that doctrine, and published three quarto volumes in its defence, which were printed at the Roman Propaganda, and may still be seen in its office. A fresco has been painted in the Vatican by a distinguished Roman artist, Podesti, to commemorate that event, and there the figure of Passaglia occupies a principal place; and notwithstanding some earnest entreaties from high quarters, the artist has declined to erase it. What a strange revolution! What is now the position of Passaglia, who was the "observed of all observers" at that great concourse of Bishops in 1854, and was the chosen champion of Rome on that occasion? At this the next assemblage of Bishops convened by Pius IX., in 1862, he is regarded by her as one of her bitterest enemies[3]. His papers at this moment are in the hands of

[3] As a specimen of the temper of certain Roman writers, in speaking of Passaglia, a few words may be cited from M. Le Veuillot's lately published Volume entitled, "Le parfum de Rome." "Voici le vrai infâme . . . le prêtre ennemi de l'Eglise; c'est le parricide, c'est Judas . . . de la synagogue au prétoire il promène l'impudence de sa trahison. 'A trente deniers le juste! Qui me compte trente deniers, et je livrerai le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ? Infâme!'"

the Inquisition; his escape from Rome was due, in great measure, to English friends; and he was denounced—not in name, but in terms—by the same Pope, Pius IX., in the Allocution delivered last Sunday; and this same Carlo Passaglia has collected, and is now collecting many thousand names of Italian Priests, some of high [4] position in the Church, who affix [5] their signatures to an address, representing to the Pope the evils which

[4] Among those who have signed the address are 76 Vicarii Capitolari, and 1095 Monsignori and Capitular Dignitaries.

[5] They now amount to *nine thousand*, Oct. 1862. Their address has been published at Turin, in a Volume entitled, "Petition of Nine Thousand Italian Priests to His Holiness Pius IX., and to the Catholic Bishops united with him." Attached to it is a Preface and a Postscript by Passaglia, who says that the number of signatures to the Petition would have been even *much larger* than it is, if many Priests had not been deterred from affixing their names by "threats and intimidations of the Bishops, and by decrees of the Congregations of Rome, and by judicial sentences of the *Pope himself*" (p. 176). Those who have signed the address have done so in defiance of these menaces.

A striking proof of the schism which is now rending the Church of Rome.

threaten Italy and Christendom, unless he surrenders that temporal power, for the maintenance of which the Pope himself has convened Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops from all parts of the world.

The object of attack is the *temporal power*. I do not say that Passaglia, or that any of the many thousand Priests who have signed this manifesto, are prepared to reject an iota of the Pope's *spiritual* claims; at least, not in express terms. But inasmuch as the Papacy declares that *subjection* to itself is necessary to salvation, as is clearly affirmed in the Papal Bull, "Unam Sanctam [6]," and inasmuch as the Pope affirms that "his temporal power is *necessary* to the well-being of the *Church*," and condemns all who maintain the contrary opinion, it is not easy to understand how any can call themselves "good Catholics," in the Roman sense of the term, who set themselves up against the Pope in this matter, and denounce his

[6] Of Pope Boniface VIII. "We declare, decree, and pronounce that it is necessary unto salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontiff;" inserted in the Roman Canon Law, Extrav. Com. lib. i. Tit. viii. Vol. ii. p. 1161, ed. 1839.

temporal power as injurious to the welfare of Italy and Christendom, and assume themselves to be wiser than the Pope in matters concerning the Papacy, and to have more zeal for the good of the Church, than the Bishop of Rome himself, whom they themselves call the "Supreme Head of the Church, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth." It may, indeed, be said by some—it may be said by some among the many thousand Priests themselves who have signed that address—that they do not intend to touch a single article of Roman Catholic *doctrine.* But the fact is (whether they know it or not) they are assailing the very *foundation* on which *all Roman Catholic doctrine rests*[7]; they are assailing the *Papal Supremacy.* And how? Because they are rebelling against the Pope. Because they are

[7] "What," asks Cardinal Bellarmine, "is the subject under discussion, when we debate concerning the Supremacy of the Pope? I answer, In one word, it is the essence of Christianity" (summa rei Christianæ). *Cardinal Bellarmine,* Præfat. in libros de Pontifice, Tom. i. p. 189, ed. Colon. 1615, and he says (lib. v. cap. 7, p. 350), "that the Pope has authority over temporal matters with a view to spiritual good" (in ordine ad spiritualia).

refusing to submit to his authority, and are rising up in insurrection against it, in a matter which he asserts, in the most solemn language, to be of essential importance to the *spiritual* welfare of the Church, and to the maintenance of her *doctrine*. Can they put asunder what the Pope has joined together and declares to be indissoluble? If they wish really to estimate their own act from the Roman Catholic point of view, let them inquire what the *Pope* thinks of it? what almost all the Papal *Bishops* think of it? *That* is the true criterion to be applied.

It is, then, very remarkable that the Church of Rome is now being despoiled of her temporal power by her own children. Not by *Protestant* princes or *Protestant* people, but by those who profess themselves *zealous Roman Catholics*. Passaglia, the most distinguished member of that order, the order of Jesuits, which Pope Pius VII., when he restored them, called "the most vigorous rowers in the bark of St. Peter,"—Passaglia, the chosen champion of the Church of Rome, leads his army of Italian Priests against her, and at the head of that ecclesiastical legion, he presents his ma-

nifesto against her secular power, with the most humble professions of loyalty to her spiritual supremacy. The Pope's own subjects in about three-fourths of his dominions, have thrown off their temporal allegiance to the Papacy, and have chosen Victor Emmanuel as their King. Victor Emmanuel himself professes to be a dutiful son of the Church, while he takes possession of her territories, and does not disguise his intention to seat himself, if he can, on the throne of the Pontiff at Rome, and to be crowned King of Italy in the Roman Capitol. Even the Emperor of the French, the "eldest son of the Church," while he is protecting the Papacy at Rome, or rather while he is making Rome a city of France, has abetted the spoliation of the Papacy by counselling the Pope to renounce all claims on the larger part of his dominions which have revolted from him, and by recognizing Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy.

Passaglia and the 9,000 Priests with him can hardly remain where they are. Their position seems insecure, and hardly tenable; they are like persons who are trying to stand and fight upon an inclined plane. They must

either recede or advance. Either they must go backward to the dogmas of Ultramontanism, and must receive freely and unreservedly all the claims of the Papacy, temporal and spiritual; or else they must go forward and boldly challenge those claims, and apply to them a searching and unflinching criticism, and try them by the tests of Scripture and Primitive Antiquity. There is no middle course; and if they desire to succeed, and render true service to the Christian Church, and to the Kingdom of Italy, they must not cling to the Papal Canon Law, but appeal to the principles and usages of primitive Catholicity. They must renounce many of the decrees of Trent, and hold fast those of Nicæa.

These are strange events, and deserve careful attention, not only in a political, but in a religious sense. And, perhaps, the writer may be pardoned for expressing a belief, that in these wonderful events we may recognize a fulfilment of the prophecies of Holy Scripture.

All the greatest *Roman Catholic* Divines acknowledge that the *city* of Rome is designated by the name of Babylon in the Book

of Revelation by St. John [8]. Now, one of the things predicted of the spiritual Babylon by St. John, is, that some who had been formerly her *subjects* and *vassals*, would "eat her *flesh*, and make her desolate and naked [9]," and the divine decree against her is, "Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double [1]."

It is surely worthy of remark, that the sufferings of Rome at the present crisis concern her *temporal* power, as distinguished from her spiritual; they concern her "*flesh*," the *carnal* element of her system, *that* element which she has too often used for carnal purposes. And they who are inflicting upon her those sufferings, and who are, at this time, "devouring her flesh," and are "making her desolate and naked," are *not* her *open enemies*, but those very persons, who were formerly her

[8] If the reader wishes to see that acknowledgment in the words of Cardinal Bellarmine, Cardinal Baronius, Bossuet, and others, it may be found quoted in the Author's Essay on "Babylon," chapter ii., near the beginning, new edit. 1862.

[9] Rev. xvii. 16.

[1] Rev. xviii. 6.

subjects, and who are even now professing themselves her friends.

If also we consider her present sufferings in relation to those which she herself inflicted upon *others* in former times, it will be perceived that they bear a remarkable resemblance to them. She has now been deprived of a large part of her temporal dominions; she has lost Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria; and the King of Italy, aided by the almost unanimous voices of the people of Italy, does not scruple to avow his determination to dethrone the Pope as temporal Sovereign of Rome. When Cardinal Antonelli said in his famous rescript that the Pope *could* not give up his temporal dominions, which he had received as a trust, to rule, and not to give away, there was a noble truth embodied in that inflexible "*non possumus.*" But did it then cross the Cardinal's mind, that the Popes of old, for many centuries, turned a deaf ear to that same plea, when urged by Sovereign Princes in former ages? The Popes would not listen to the remonstrances of Kings, who said that they *could not* surrender their Realms to the Papacy, because they had received those

Realms to rule, and not *to give away*. The Popes were inexorable, they deprived Kings of their dominions, and hurled them from their thrones, and those Popes who dethroned Kings have been canonized by Rome, and are now worshipped by her as Saints[2].

Pope Gregory VII. would not accept a "non possumus" from the Emperor Henry IV. Innocent III. would not accept a "non possumus" from Otho, or from King John. Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV., would not tolerate a "non possumus" from the Emperor Frederick II.; and if Paul III. had had his will, he would not have tolerated a "non possumus" from King Henry VIII.; nor Pius V., and Gregory XIII., from Queen Elizabeth. And now the King of Italy, and People of Italy, and even many thousands of the Priests of Italy, will not listen to a "non possumus" from Pope Pius IX. Rome receives the same measure which she meted out to others for many generations. The Divine decree has gone out against her, "Reward her, even as she has rewarded you; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double."

[2] See above, chap. iv.

We went from St. Peter's to the Villa Pamfili Doria, to the Fontana Paolina on the Janiculum, where was a beautiful view of the city lying beneath us in the quiet evening light, just before sunset. The fountain in the background added greatly to the beauty of the scene, with its cascades of clear, cool water, flowing down in copious streams into the lucid basin below. Turning back, we came to San Pietro in Montorio, said to be the spot where St. Peter was crucified; and saw Bramante's little model Temple, similar to that in Raphael's cartoon of St. Paul preaching at Athens.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Saturday, *June* 14*th*.—Went at seven in the morning to St. John Lateran, to be present at the Ordination, which takes place there annually on this day, the Saturday before Trinity Sunday.

The Bishop, who was holding the Ordination, was Cardinal Patrizi, Cardinal Vicar, Bishop of Portus, a successor of S. Hippolytus. He was seated in the apse of the Church, attired in brilliant robes spangled with gold, and wearing a scarlet cap, which he exchanged occasionally for a gilded mitre; he had also scarlet shoes and scarlet gloves, and at his side a crosier. On his right were some of the Canons of the Church, who assisted him in the Ordination, and on his left were the candidates for Ordination. These were

of several grades. Candidates for the Orders of

1. *Lectores* or *Readers.*
2. *Acolytes.*
3. *Subdeacons.*
4. *Deacons.*
5. *Priests;* which Orders were conferred on the Candidates respectively in succession.

The names of those who were to be ordained *Lectores* or Readers, were called over by a notary, and each answered "*adsum*" to his name, and they were presented by the Archdeacon, and then were addressed by the Bishop, who gave them a Charge from the "Pontifical," concerning the duties they would have to perform as Lectores, in the Church, viz. to read "distinctè et apertè ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium," so that all might *hear and understand.* He then delivered to them a Book, which they touched with their right hands, and he said a prayer over them, and they returned to their place.

Next, the names of the *Acolytes* were called over, and they were presented in like manner, and received a charge from the Bishop, concerning their duty to provide candles for the

Church, and bread and wine for the Holy Eucharist, and to make their own light shine before men, and to offer a reasonable sacrifice to God by holiness of life. He then delivered to each a candlestick, and an ewer, and said a prayer over them.

The *Subdeacons* came next, each clothed in an amice, an alb with a belt, and a maniple in his left hand, and a tunicle over his left arm, and a candle in his right hand.

The Bishop, sitting on his chair, with his mitre on his head, then addressed them, and told them that hitherto they had been free to return to the world, and to secular pursuits, but as soon as they had been ordained to the office of Subdeacon, they would be bound by a perpetual vow of Celibacy, and be devoted wholly to the service of the Church.

They then knelt down before the Bishop, and the Archdeacon called those who were to be ordained *Deacons and Priests*, and they came forward from their seats, and were arranged in front of the Bishop.

The candidates for the *Diaconate* differed in dress from the others, in having a stole in their left hand, and a dalmatic over their left

arm, and the candidates for the *Priesthood* had a cope[1] on their right arm, and a white napkin in their left hand.

The Bishop then knelt at a faldstool, and all the candidates for Ordination prostrated themselves flat at full length, with their faces on the ground, all ranged in a direction towards the apse of the Church, and in front of the Bishop's throne.

They continued lying flat on the ground, and then followed the Litany, in which, after supplication to the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and to the Trinity in Unity, in the same form as in our English Litany, was a long series of invocations of Saints, about sixty in number, each invocation being followed by the response "*Ora pro nobis;*" then came other supplications, closely resembling those in our English Litany, followed by the responses, "*Libera nos, Domine*" (Good Lord, deliver us), and "*Te rogamus, audi nos*" (We beseech Thee to hear us, Good Lord), corresponding in many respects to the Latin Litany used in our English Convocation.

At the end of the Litany the Bishop arose,

[1] Planeta, casula, chasuble.

and having his mitre on his head, and his crosier in his left hand, prayed for a blessing on those who were to be ordained, and who still remained prostrate on the ground.

After the prayer, they who were to be ordained *Deacons* and *Priests* stepped aside, and they who were to be ordained *Subdeacons* knelt before the Bishop, while he delivered them a charge on their duties, with regard to the Altar, the sacred vessels and vestments, and the water to be used in their ministry, and in washing the vessels and the vestments. He then delivered to each an empty chalice and paten, which they touched with their right hand, and the Archdeacon delivered to them ewers with wine and water, and a basin and towel; and after certain prayers, the Bishop invested each with the amice, and delivered to each a maniple, and clothed each with a tunic, and delivered to each a book of the Epistles, and authorized them to read it in the Church, both for the living and the dead, "*tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis.*"

After certain preliminaries, they who were to be ordained *Deacons* came and knelt before the Bishop. The Archdeacon presented them

to the Bishop with words similar to those in our English Ordinal. The Bishop asked whether they were worthy. The Archdeacon certified their fitness. The Bishop said, "God be thanked" (*Deo gratias*), and inquired of *the people* whether they had any objection to make to the Ordination of any of the candidates.

He then delivered a solemn charge on the duties *of Priests;* referring to the office of the Priests under the Law, and the seventy-two disciples under the Gospel. The candidates then knelt before the Bishop, and he laid both his hands on the head of each in succession, and the Priests who were present did the same, passing along the lines of the candidates as they knelt, and they continued to hold their hands upraised in the air, and the Bishop uttered a prayer. He then drew the stole from the left shoulder over the right shoulder of each, and invested each with the cope; and began the Hymn, "*Veni, Creator Spiritus.*" He then took off his gloves, and anointed the hands of each candidate with oil, and prayed that they might have the grace of benediction and consecration. He then closed the hands

of each, and one of the ministers tied together the hands of each, palm to palm, with a white napkin; and while each held his hands closed, the Bishop placed the Chalice with wine and water, and the Paten with the wafer between the fingers of each, and said to each, "*Receive the power of offering Sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Masses both for the living and the dead, in the name of the Lord, Amen.*" Their hands were then unbound, and they wiped them with a long towel; and a golden ewer and basin were presented to the Bishop, in which he washed his hands.

The Mass was then celebrated; at the Offertory each of the Candidates knelt before the Bishop, and offered to him a lighted candle, and kissed his hand. Many portions of the service were sung by the choir, accompanied with the organ.

There was much that was very striking and impressive in this service, and much that dates from the best times of primitive Christian Antiquity. The *appeal to the people* at the beginning of the Service, the charge to the candidates to *read the Scriptures clearly and*

distinctly for the edification of the People,— all this bore the stamp of genuine Catholicity. But it is much marred and impaired by the fact, that this appeal is made in a *dead* language, and that the Scriptures are read by the Church of Rome in a tongue which is not understood by the People. Does not her own Ordinal, therefore, utter a protest against her *practice?*

The Service itself seemed to have little interest for the people. There was a very small congregation. We may well be thankful that the Church of England, which has retained much of the primitive substance of the Ordinal, has abandoned the Latin, and has substituted the vernacular in its stead. Can it be doubted, that if the Church of Rome had done the same, this magnificent Church of St. John Lateran would have been thronged to-day with worshippers?

There is another characteristic of the Roman Ordinal, which tells greatly to its disadvantage as compared with the English Office. This is in the entire absence of interrogatories to the Candidates. The future Deacons and Priests answer *no questions*, and make *no declarations*,

in the presence of God and the Church, at their Ordination. They make no engagements and promises to which they may afterwards look back in their ministry for godly resolution and courage, quickened by the remembrance of the devout prayers offered by them and for them, for spiritual strength. Surely this is to be regretted, for their own sake, and for that of the people; and we may be thankful to God for His guidance to those who framed our own Ordinal, in this respect.

The English Ordinal has sometimes been said to be defective, in not providing for that which the Church of Rome holds to be essential for the ordination of a Priest; viz. the commission to *offer sacrifice*, and to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, accompanied with the delivery of the Chalice and the Paten.

But on this it may be observed, that as far as any function to be rightly performed by a Priest is concerned, this *is* provided for by the Church of England, in the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a *Priest* in the Church of God;" and it has been proved by learned writers (such as Marinus, a Roman Catholic Author) that the

words in question in the Roman Ordinal, and the delivery of the sacred vessels, are not of primitive authority, but of comparatively recent introduction: the same may be said with regard to the anointing of the hands[2].

In saying this, we may also feel a wish that our Reformers had seen fit to preserve something more of the ancient ceremonial, in this solemn act of the Christian Church. Might they not have left the episcopal mitre? and especially the episcopal crosier, that beautiful, affecting, and expressive symbol of the love and care of the faithful shepherd, in feeding and tending the flock of Christ?

[2] On these points the reader may see more in Bingham's Antiquities, Book ii., chap. xix., sect. 17.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ROME (*continued*).

WE removed to-day from our hotel to apartments in Palazzo Parisani, in the Piazza S. Claudio. This house was built by the celebrated Cardinal Consalvi, Prime Minister of Pope Pius VII., and still belongs to his family.

We have a very large suite of rooms on the first floor, at a moderate price. This is one of the advantages of visiting Rome at this time, the middle of June, when all the English are fled. You may choose rooms any where, and the days are long, and the mornings and evenings are delightfully fresh, so that with high, airy rooms you may do very well, especially if the season be as favourable as it is now. We are near the Fontana of Trevi, which is a most refreshing sight in these summer days, with its streams of clear water, gushing out from its rocky sides, and sparkling

in the sun, and forming a little lake at their feet. Of all cities in Europe, none can be compared to Rome for its fountains, and at no time is their beauty more felt than at this season of the year. They are well described by George Dyer in one of his too much neglected poems[1],

> "Adown they fall
> Musical ever; while from yon blue hills
> Dim in the clouds, the radiant Aqueducts
> Turn their innumerable arches o'er
> The spacious desert, brightening in the sun,
> Proud and more proud in their august approach;
> High o'er irriguous vales and woods and towns
> Glide the soft whispering waters in the wind,
> And here united pour their silver streams
> Among the figured rocks, in murmuring falls
> Musical ever."

One of the first things we saw in coming into our piazza was a printed advertisement in large letters, of a work just published at Rome:—"Il Dominio Temporale del Vicario di Gesù Cristo, per *Monsignore Manning*, Protonotario Apostolico, e Preposto del Capitolo Metropolitano *di Westminster*."

It is printed at the press of the Roman

[1] Dyer, Ruins of Rome, p. 31.

Propaganda, where I procured a copy. The Author admits that the Temporal Dominion of the Pope *cannot* be maintained as an *article of faith*,—but he professes his belief that it is necessary to be defended as a providential fact, intimately connected with the divine institution of the Papacy, and may properly form the subject for an authoritative declaration of the Church, to which every one would be bound to submit[2]; and he asserts it to be already "a law of the conscience, and an axiom of the reason[3]," and that it stands by the side "*of the Immaculate Conception as a theological certainty, if not as a definition;*" and he remarks that the Roman Catholic Episcopate has raised its voice from all parts of the world in its behalf, and he quotes with approval the saying of Cardinal Bellarmine, appealing to testimonies in behalf of the temporal power, and asking, "If this is not the voice of the Catholic Church, where, let me ask, shall we find it[4]?" and he expresses his conviction that the "dissolution of Christian society would be the inevitable conse-

[2] P. 18, 19. [3] P. 34. [4] P. 238.

quence of the Dissolution of the Temporal Power of the Pope[5]."

Roman Catholic writers boast of their own *unity*, and dwell with somewhat of uncharitable complacency on the schisms which divide Protestant Communities. But let them be requested to look at home. Let them consider the schism which is now rending in pieces their own body; a schism concerning a matter which affects in a vital manner their own Supreme Head upon earth, whom they call the "Vicario di Gesù Cristo;" as is admitted not only by such writers as Dr. Manning, but by the 260 Roman Catholic Bishops assembled at the Canonization, and by the Pope himself.

Dr. Manning's work on the temporal power is severely handled[6] by the great champion of the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception*, whose work on that subject was also printed at the Propaganda, Carlo Passaglia. *Dr. Manning* appeals to the unanimous voice of the *Episcopate in behalf* of the Temporal Power. *Passaglia* tells us that he has the signatures of *nine thousand Priests against* it.

[5] P. 87, and Indice, p. 247.

[6] In the "Mediatore," No. 29, and other numbers.

And the *People* of Italy—more than twenty millions—are likewise almost all unanimous against it. *Is this unity?*

What is the description which Passaglia himself, and the nine thousand Priests with him, give of the present state of Italy? "This question," they state in their Petition[7], "is severing the Italian Nation from the Roman Pontiff and Ruler, and, what is even more grievous, is dividing the Clergy among themselves, and splitting up the Priesthood into parties;" and they implore the Pope[8] and the Bishops to renounce the temporal power, as the "only means now left of putting an end to the conflicts which are harassing Italy and exasperating its People, and are placing the State in antagonism to the Church, and the Priesthood in opposition to the Throne." And further, they state their belief that unless these discordant Powers are reconciled, by the surrender of the sovereignty of the Papacy, "there is no temporal and spiritual damage which may not be justly apprehended, and no national or religious benefit which can reasonably be expected."

[7] P. 12. [8] Ibid. p. 24.

"Is this *unity?*" again it may be asked.

If we were disposed to rejoice in the divisions of a sister Church—as some of our Romanist brethren seem to find a malignant delight in our differences,—what abundant room for triumphant exultation is here!

It was observed long ago by Sir Edwin Sandys in his "Europæ Speculum," that the Church of Rome in his day excited the hopes of her people, and increased her own power, by disseminating, and even by fabricating, intelligence favourable to her own views[9]. This policy is still maintained. The people of Rome are encouraged to believe that England is about to become Papal, and that her Sovereign will follow the example of Queen Mary, who is represented on a Papal coin of Julius III., A.D. 1553, as making a humble submission to the Pope; "ANGLIA, *resurges.*" "*O England! thou wilt rise again,*" is the inscription on that coin, in which the Queen of England is represented as kneeling before the Pope and receiving his blessing. The

[9] P. 110, "On the Policy of Papal News."

feeling expressed in that coin is rife at Rome, and is promoted by what Sir Edwin calls "the *policy* of Papal news." I take the following paragraph from a Roman Catholic paper which calls itself the "*True Good* News," La vera buona Novella, for Jan. 1, 1862, "Un articolo del *Times* sembra predisponga gli animi all' abdicazione della Regina Vittoria in favore del principe di Galles, suo figlio. Ed il *Monde* nota questo fatto, rammentandoci quanto s' è parlato della *conversione al cattolicismo della Regina Vittoria stessa.*"

Dr. Manning has lately published another work in Italian, which has attracted some notice, and which possesses much interest for Englishmen, especially at this time. It is an Essay "On the Relations of *England* to Christianity, and to the Catholic Church." It was read as a Lecture at the "Accademia della Religione Cattolica," at Rome, on the 30th of last month (May, 1862), in the presence of Cardinals Wiseman, Patrizi, and about twelve other Cardinals, and a large number of Archbishops, Bishops, and Prelati; and was received with enthusiastic applause by the audience. He began with stating that

an "Accademia of the Catholic Religion had been instituted in Westminster, and was going on prosperously, and may be expected to become a centre of kindred Institutions in England, and to exercise much influence by means of its literary productions, on the public opinion of England." He then gave a sketch of the religious history of England, from the earliest times to the present day. He attributed the framework of the Civil Constitution of England to the influence of *Rome* in Saxon times, and ascribed the jealousy and insubordination of its principles toward the Holy See, and its proud spirit of national independence, and its secular and anti-ecclesiastical spirit, "to the influence of the *Norman* conquerors[1]."

He considered the essential principle of the Reformation to have been "a denial of the divine voice of the Church," and that it effaced from the national mind of England "all idea of a visible Church endued with

[1] Surely it may be rather said that Rome, by means of the *Norman* Princes and Prelates, subjugated the native Church of Britain first, and next that of Ireland. See Abp. Ussher's Antiq. A.D. MCXV., and "Religion of Ancient Irish," p. 62.

supernatural prerogatives[2]." To this cause he attributed the numerous sects of England. He then drew a picture of the *English Church*. He stated that "Episcopacy is generally regarded as a convenient form of Church government, rather than of divine institution;" that "the greater part of the Nation and of *the Clergy* live in complete ignorance or indifference" as to the true nature of Church regimen, and have "no intellectual perception of the real constitution of the Church;" and that they who teach the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession, and of the Episcopate, represent "una picciolissima frazione della Chiesa Anglicana;" and that among those who hold higher principles, there never has arisen any writer, characterized by true spiritual unction; the only one who had any pretension to that title —Jeremy Taylor — was merely a "versatile rhetorician, and a latitudinarian[3]." He then proceeded to speak of the religious movement at Oxford in the present century; which he said was not due to any Catholic writers or preachers; but he states that it "stretched its

[2] P. 9. See also p. 10. [3] P. 13.

frontiers to the bounds of the Catholic Church, and founded its position eventually on the Council of Trent[4]." The opinions of this School led, he observes, to a reaction, which, strengthening itself with German Rationalism, has found its development in the lately-published Volume, "*Essays and Reviews.*" He quoted the character drawn of that Book by the "Committee of the Lower House of Convocation," and reminded his hearers that the "seven writers of these Essays are all members of the English Church; six of them hold Ecclesiastical or Academical offices; and therefore it may be said with all truth, that the Rationalistic School is widely established in England." "Every form of Heresy finds a home in the Church of England, and she has no power to throw it out of her system. She sits in her chair, dumb and confounded[5]." "And what is the cause of this unhappy condition? It is because she has separated herself from the centre of Unity—the Bishop of Rome. And there is no hope for her till she returns, with dutiful submission, to the Holy See. Is

[4] P. 15. [5] P. 18.

there no hope of this happy result? Yes" (he replies) "there are grounds for the most happy anticipations[6]" (delle più belle, delle più vive speranze). The Conversions to the Catholic Faith in England are now "very frequent, numerous, and systematic; they result from the influence of the Catholic Church on the whole nation of England. There is a great change in the popular mind of England with regard to Catholicism. English Society is leavened by the influence of those who have been led to embrace the Catholic Faith. The Reformation, with all its ecclesiastical traditions, religious, political, and social, as far as it is a religion, is now *moribund*, and *must die* (è moribonda, e dovrà morire[7]). The recent organization of the Catholic Episcopate in England affords another ground of hope. The Catholic Church had perished in England; it comes forth *created quite new from the side of the Vicar of Christ*[8]. And a powerful inter-

[6] P. 23. [7] P. 28.

[8] "La Chiesa cattolica di oggidì esce *tutta nuova del fianco del Vicario di Gesù Cristo.*" This allusion (surely not a very reverent one) to the creation of Eve from the side of Adam by Almighty God, brings out more clearly

cession ascends to heaven for England from our Immaculate Mother, to whom that Country was so religiously devoted in ancient days."

Such is the portraiture drawn of England and her Church by one of the most distinguished of her sons, one whom the Bishop of Rome has honoured with special marks of his favour [9]. Such is the picture presented by him to the eyes of Cardinals and Archbishops at Rome. Doubtless it has inspired their hearts with joy; and it may also be contemplated with profit by us. The eyes of Rome are fixed on England and on her Church. Rome will strain every nerve in order to raise up enemies against the English Monarchy and the English Church, especially from within ourselves.

Such publications as "Essays and Reviews," from the pens of English clergymen, are eagerly hailed by Romish divines. Romish divines do all in their power to magnify their im-

the fact that the creation of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England, in opposition to the existing Episcopate of England, was a wholesale act of schism.

[9] As he himself has remarked, in pathetic language, in his "Dominio Temporale," p. 184.

portance, and to use them as instruments for shaking the allegiance of English men and women to the English Church, and of drawing them off to Rome. Such publications as those are doing the work of Romish Superstition and Usurpation, as well as of Infidelity and Anarchy; and in proportion as they become more common among us, perversions to Rome will be more frequent, and the power of Rome will be aggrandized.

If the Bishops and Clergy of England needed admonitions and incitements to urge them to devote themselves more earnestly to Biblical Learning and Theological Studies, and to labour and to pray for the maintenance and advancement of sound Scriptural Catholic Truth, and to withstand the progress of Latitudinarianism,—and if the Laity of England require inducements to encourage such studies, and to strengthen the bands of Ecclesiastical discipline,—they may find them in the words addressed to the "Catholic Academy of Rome," by one whose departure from ourselves all who knew and loved him must ever deeply deplore.

CHAPTER XXV.

ROME (*continued*).

June 15. *Trinity Sunday.*—Going out early this morning, met a procession bearing the host to a sick person; many of the common people fell on their knees in the streets before it. Went to the Service at the English Church at 8 A.M., and again at 5½ P.M. The whole very well administered. No where does the English Service make so deep an impression as in Italy. The ascription of glory to God alone, without a rival or partner,—the reading of His Holy Word in a tongue understood by the Congregation,—the offering of prayer and praise,—the rehearsal of the Three Creeds in the same tongue, in which all hearts may unite,—the celebration of the Holy Communion in its fulness and integrity,—these and other characteristics of the English Liturgy

inspire the heart with thankfulness in a country where the primitive purity and simplicity of Christianity is overlaid with so much that obscures and corrupts it.

At eleven o'clock went to the magnificent Church of the Gesù; where was a large congregation, ready to listen to a sermon from a celebrated Jesuit Preacher—Padre Toeschi, I think, was his name. His discourse was a Panegyric on the Japanese Martyrs canonized last Sunday, three of whom belonged to the order of Jesuits.

In manner of delivery, and gracefulness of action, and ready flow of appropriate language, the sermon was an admirable specimen of sacred eloquence. My companion observed that the voice was managed with the utmost skill; at times modulated so as to be like a recitative, at others, softened with such pathos, as almost to bring tears into your eyes. There was very little exaggeration in the treatment of the subject. He gave a very graphic and noble description of the self-devotion of the Martyrs, their self-sacrifice, and their holy joy, and triumphant exultation amid their torments by

which they overcame the fury of their tormentors, "torti torquentibus fortiores." The Preacher said nothing of any miracles being worked by the Martyrs, nothing of the duty of invoking them: he assured his hearers that the courage displayed by them in their acts and sufferings was due *only to God's grace*, exciting and enabling them to be imitators of the example of Christ, in action and endurance. He said that true Martyrdom could only be produced by Charity; and that since heretics fomented strife, which is contrary to charity, they could not be Martyrs. Martyrdom could not exist except in communion with the Church. Therefore, said he, "Æmulamini charismata meliora[1];" "Covet earnestly the best gifts," especially charity, in order that you may be martyrs.

He assured his audience that though Christianity was now extinct in Japan, yet that 300,000 persons had been converted by the Martyrs, and that they still exercised a powerful influence on Christendom, as had been seen in the gathering together of the Bishops of

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 31

the Catholic world, around the throne of the successor of St. Peter, and in the triumph of the Catholic Church in that vast assemblage which was present last Sunday at the Canonization of the Martyrs.

The sermon was interspersed with a few quotations from Scripture, and with some of the most noted passages of Tertullian, Cyprian, and S. Augustine, on the glory of Christian Martyrdom. He concluded by assuring his hearers that each of them might, and ought to be, a Martyr in their own condition of life, and then they would win palms of victory which awaited them in heaven. They needed only a courageous resolution of the will, a noble act of self-immolation.

There was a tendency to Pelagian independence, which seemed rather to savour of the peculiar character of Jesuit Theology, and there was nothing said concerning the duty of prayer. But probably the Preacher would have added more on this point if he had had time. The Sermon lasted a full hour.

In listening to Italian Preachers we are naturally led to ask, What effect would this kind of eloquence produce in England? It

must, I think, be confessed that we have little like it, if I may so express it, as a work of art. The well-modulated variations in the tone of voice, the easy gracefulness of gesture, the vigorous energy and noble dignity of action; these and other accessories of oratory, which are of great force in moving the passions, are practised in perfection by the great Preachers of Italy, especially among the Jesuits, but are not much studied in England. My impression is that the effect of an Italian Sermon is to produce *admiration* of the *preacher*, rather than to afford *profit* to the *hearer*. The sermons of Italy that I have heard were rather adapted to move the affections by temporary excitement, than to convince the reason and inform the judgment, and to produce a permanent effect on the practice. I am disposed to think also, that after a time, the excitement would wear itself out. I have been surprised to see many hearers asleep while the Preacher was almost tearing himself to pieces by violent emotion. The congregation is like a Neapolitan population slumbering on the sides of a volcano. I doubt also very much whether Italian sermons, however agreeable

to the *ear*, would stand the scrutiny of the *eye*. They do very well to *hear*, but not to *read*. Indeed, scarcely any sermons are ever printed here. One of the great advantages of England, in this matter, seems to be, that the sermons of many of her Divines, even those which were preached in our churches two centuries ago, are read weekly in families, and in private, and thus exercise a quiet and permanent influence on society: this is unknown in Italy.

When I was returning home, my satisfaction at hearing this excellent Sermon was rather disturbed by an "Invito Sagro," which caught my eyes, from Cardinal Patrizi, the Cardinal Vicar, exhorting all the faithful to celebrate with due devotion the festival of S. Antony of Padua, inasmuch as he was "a great worker of miracles, and a Champion against heresy, and is rightly called the *Ark of the Testimony*, because he *works* the salvation of *Israel;* therefore let us flee to his intercession." His festival is on June 13.

After the English Service, which was at 5½ P.M., walked to the Church of S. Luigi dei Francesi, the French Church at Rome.

It was quite full: a great many French Priests, and some French soldiers. There was to be a Sermon by Monseigneur Berteaud, Bishop of Tulle, who had also been lately chosen to preach in the Colosseum on Thursday the 5th of this month to a congregation of about 20,000 people.

"Why have we Bishops come to Rome?" exclaimed the Preacher. "Why have you, my reverend brethren of the Priesthood, come to Rome? To behold the Vicar of Christ, the Interpreter of the Will and Word of God, to drink new courage from what we see and from what we hear at Rome, the Mother and Mistress of Churches. And now we are going back to our respective Dioceses, full of faith and valour, derived from the Source of Sanctity and Truth. We go to execute the Divine commission, 'Euntes docete omnes gentes;' to fulfil the Divine command, 'Euntes in mundum universum : rædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ.' Teach all Nations. Yes; *Nations* need to be taught, as well as individuals. Nations, in order to be prosperous, must be religious. France, as a Nation, needs religion. She has done much for the Church,

and she has prospered thereby. In maintaining the temporal power of the Vicar of Christ she does the will of Christ. He deigned to be born in a region tributary to Rome, and to be enrolled in the census of Roman citizens. And Pontifical Rome has deigned to enrol us, the Bishops of France, in the Fasti of her Nobility, and we are grateful for the honour." The Preacher then drew a very brilliant picture of the happiness and prosperity of the Roman people under the Pontifical government. "You Romans still have many remnants of your ancient grandeur. You have your Senate. You have your '*campagnes fleuries*,'" &c. &c. This, and other complimentary passages of a like character, were rather too much for the gravity of his auditory, and produced what the French would call an "hilarité générale." It might be easy to "praise the Athenians among the Athenians," (as one said of old,) but it is not so easy to eulogize the Roman government at Rome.

The *Bishops*, who have been brought to Rome for the Canonization, are entertained by the Court of Rome with splendid hospitality, and are well pleased with their reception; but

it may be doubted whether a mistake has not been made by the Papacy in bringing so many *Priests* together, to see the nakedness of the land, and to behold with their own eyes the bad effects of the Papal rule. Uncultivated tracts of land, even to the gates of Rome, grass growing in her streets, a large part of the city itself untenanted, the commerce of the place languishing, its maritime traffic represented by two or three wretched steamers, and three or four barges now lying in the port of the Ripetta,—which we passed in our way from the English Church to that of S. Luigi,—the streets swarming with beggars,—heavy exactions for passports,—an organized system of espionage, and the confessional itself used as an instrument of police,—these and other characteristics of Roman rule, must abate the reverence of the most fervent votaries of the Papacy; and I have been assured on the best authority, that some of the Priests now at Rome, especially those from England and Ireland, have expressed bitter disappointment at the state of things which they themselves have witnessed and experienced in this city. On Tuesday last, an

English Priest, who was staying at the Hôtel d'Angleterre, was struck down by an assassin in the Via Borgognona.

Rome has now had the advantage of listening to Sermons from the two great Episcopal Preachers of France, the Bishop of Tulle, and the Bishop of Orléans, Monseigneur Dupanloup.

The former is said to be distinguished by the originality and boldness of his conceptions and language; his utterance is very rapid, and when he is warmed with his subject, he is carried along, as it were, by a torrent. Whether his judgment is on a par with his imagination has been questioned; perhaps the specimen which we heard to-day was not a favourable one.

I did not hear the discourse of the Bishop of Orléans, which was preached here at the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, on the third of this month. But it has been published, and is well worth a perusal. The passages in which he spoke of the glories of the Papacy, and the virtues of Pius IX., were received with bursts of applause. "Ye venerable

Bishops of the whole world," he exclaimed, "wherefore have you come to Rome? Why have you traversed the seas? Why have you quitted your flocks? Why have you braved fatigue? You have come to the Pope, as a man comes to his father when he is in sorrow . . . Never, perhaps, has any event happened in the Church like this, to satisfy simply a craving of the heart."

Indeed the Sermon seems rather to be a panegyric of the Papacy, than what its title imports, a plea for the Churches of the East. The Churches of the East, it affirms, are only to be revived by Communion with the Holy See; and by a completion of those designs which were promulgated at the Council of Florence. It would be interesting to know what would be the commentary of a learned Oriental Bishop on the Sermon of the Bishop of Orléans. I lately received a valuable work, by a distinguished Russian theologian[2], on the history of the Council of Florence, which throws much light on that subject. The elo-

[2] Translated into English by Mr. E. Popoff, and edited by Dr. Neale. 1862.

quent French Prelate expressed sanguine hopes of the union of the East with the West; and it is remarkable that he also expressed an expectation that *England* would soon submit to Rome [3].

The sanguine anticipations which are indulged by the Church of Rome at this critical epoch of her own history, are remarkable. But, it may also be observed, that other cities and empires have been most confident when most in danger. Babylon was feasting in the night of her fall.

As coming from one of the most distinguished of the French Bishops, this discourse is also of interest, as expressing an opinion on the question "whether France will ever allow Rome to become the capital of Italy under Victor Emmanuel?"

"Il y a des hommes qui veulent habiter là," (alluding to the King of Italy's desire to fix himself at Rome,) "qui veulent se poser, et s'asseoir là. Mais, c'est impossible!" (exclaimed the preacher,) "mais la nature invincible des choses

[3] P. 11. "*Bientôt, je l'espère*, il n'y aura qu'un troupeau et qu'un pasteur"—in England.

répugnera éternellement . . . Mais il faudrait alors raser Rome toute entière, et en refaire une à votre taille."

The collection after the sermon amounted to £208.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ROME (*continued*).

Monday, June 16th.—Went to the Capitol; wished to see the fine view from the top of the tower, but was not allowed to do so. On making a second application, two or three days afterwards, I was informed by the *custode*, that no one is permitted to mount the tower, the authorities being afraid that some revolutionary person should take advantage of the permission, and plant the flag of Italian liberty upon the summit of the Roman Capitol.

The present political uneasiness and alarm of Rome produces some strange incidents, which might be amusing, if they were not connected with a good deal of suffering and distress. Last summer, some young students at the Sapienza, whose ardour for liberty was

too fervid to be controlled by their discretion, were invited to a concert at the Palazzo B., which was honoured by the presence of many dignitaries of Rome. After one of the songs had been sung, these youthful enthusiasts let fly from their pockets some birds having the colours of Italian Liberty tied by strings to their tails, which immediately began to flutter about the saloon, to the great surprise of all, and to the dismay of some; and no small confusion was produced by the vain attempts to arrest these aërial votaries of Italian Liberty and Victor Emmanuel. Add to this, one of these youthful liberators was unfortunate enough to upset a bust of Pius IX., which stood in the saloon. But at Rome, "hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala." The Government has not learnt—perhaps it is not strong enough to learn—from the Roman Historian, that such juvenile freaks, like anonymous slanders, "spreta exolescunt." It gives an importance to them, and provokes more, by the severity of its animadversions upon them. Some of these lads were imprisoned, and some, who were innocent, were exiled, and are in banishment at this time.

The Pope seems to be willing enough to get rid of some of his subjects by banishment, and yet, at the same time, he is very reluctant to allow others to leave his dominions, and to travel into foreign countries.

Went into the neighbouring Church of Ara Cœli: the Convent is filled with French soldiers; the Church was tawdrily decked out; there had been a special *funzione*, with the purpose of obtaining Divine protection (as an inscription in large letters near the altar intimated) against "the dangerous delusions of heretics."

To the Vatican: *stanze* and *loggie* of Raffaelle; on which I need not enlarge; but cannot forbear observing, in the words of a companion, that the figure of Heliodorus driven from the temple of Jerusalem (see 2 Macc. iii. 23—40) by the angel rider on the horse, and the representation of the Angel himself, are beyond all praise for spirited and powerful drawing. And in that other fresco, representing Attila repelled from Rome by the appearance of St. Peter and St. Paul in the sky, there is something inexpressibly beautiful in the contrast between the two sides

of the picture. The war-horses of the fierce Huns are scared, and have become unmanageable; but the mules on which the Pope, Leo I., and the Cardinals ride, are perfectly quiet; and the air of the Pope and Cardinals is as placid and serene, in figure and countenance, as the Huns are terror-stricken and amazed.

The victory of Constantine over Maxentius, which is represented in a neighbouring apartment, was left unfinished by Raffaelle. It is so full of action, and crowded with figures, that it rather fatigues the eye.

Tuesday, June 17th.—Anniversary of the creation of the present Pope, Pius IX., born in 1792, May 13; created Cardinal 1839, Dec. 23; Pope, June 17, 1846; so that he is now in the seventy-first year of his age, and enters to-day on the seventeenth year of his Popedom.

On this day, sixteen years ago, that strange and awful Ceremony took place, which is called by Roman Catholic writers themselves the "*Adoration* of the Pope[1]" (Adoratio Ponti-

[1] It is so called in the official "Notitia Congregationum et Tribunalium Curiæ Romanæ," ed. 1683, p. 125; and is described in the "Cæremoniale Romanum," lib. iii. § 1.

ficis). After his election, Pius IX. was carried in his "sedia gestatoria" from the Vatican to St. Peter's Church, and was placed there *upon the High Altar;* and sitting in the Temple of God, and upon God's altar, he was *adored* by Cardinals bowing and kneeling before him. And four days afterwards he was *crowned*, sitting on the balcony over the portico of the same Church; and when the triple crown was placed on his head, he was addressed by the Cardinal who crowned him in these words, "Know that thou art the Father of Princes and of Kings, *Ruler of the World* (*Rector Orbis*)."

How many great events have been compressed into that brief compass of time since those words were uttered! First, the Papal decree of April, 1847, announcing the assembly of notables from the provinces, for a state-consultation; representative privileges granted; the name of Pius IX. a watchword of liberty; Italy was to become a free nation, with the Pope at its head. But how soon was the dream dispelled! The Pope's minister Rossi was assassinated, the Republicans gained the ascendancy, the Pope fled from the Quirinal

in the disguise of a servant, and took refuge at Mola di Gaeta. But again the scene was changed; the Pope was brought back by the French arms in April, 1850; and for nine years Rome and the Roman States remained at peace under the protection of France. Then came the campaign of Lombardy, the battles of Palestro, Magenta, Solferino, and San Martino, in the month of June, 1859; and the overthrow of Austrian rule and influence in the greater part of Italy; and the Peace of Villafranca, on July 11th, 1859, which checked the tide of Italian victories, and preserved Rome to the Pope, and Venice to Austria. Lombardy, Tuscany, the Duchies of Parma and Modena, the provinces of Umbria, and the Marches, Naples, and Sicily attached themselves to Piedmont, and acknowledged Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy; and Rome with a small tract of neighbouring territory is now isolated, and is almost a province of France.

The Pope has *not* removed his seat from Rome to France, and fixed it at Avignon, as was done in the 14th century; but France has placed Rome under her own protectorate, and she has acquired an imperial Avignon on the

soil of Italy. Rome itself is her Avignon. Napoleon III. has realized a great part of the ideal policy of Napoleon I., who desired to govern the Roman Catholic world by means of the Papacy. He has not brought the Pope from Rome to Paris, to grace his own Coronation in Notre Dame; but he has made Rome a suburb of Paris, and the Pope a pensioner of France.

The Gauls of old besieged and took Rome, and not far from the spot where we are, the Gallic conqueror, Brennus, cast his ponderous sword into the scale which held the thousand pounds' weight, that was to be counterpoised by the gold to be paid by Rome to his troops. The sword of his descendants is now put into the scale which weighs the fortunes of Rome.

Napoleon III., in his autograph letter to Victor Emmanuel (Vichy, July 12, 1861), used these memorable words:—"For eleven years I have continued to support the power of the Holy Father; and notwithstanding my desire not to occupy with a military force any part of the soil of Italy, its circumstances have threatened to be such, as to render it impossible for me to evacuate Rome;" and yet, he added,

"the Italians are the best judges of what concerns themselves, and it does not become me, *who have been created by the choice of the People, to exercise any pressure on the decisions of a free People.*"

It is not easy to reconcile these statements; "the decisions of a free people" have been pronounced clearly enough in the sense that "Rome ought to be the Capital of Italy," and if the decision of the people is really the rule of the imperial policy, ought not the imperial troops "to evacuate Rome[2]?"

It would seem, therefore, that this declaration was not very agreeable to the Papacy[3]. One of the first acts of the present Adminis-

[2] From the despatch of the late French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, (Paris, 30th May, 1862,) to the Marquis la Vallette, lately French Ambassador at Rome, and from the answer of the latter, dated Rome, 14th June, 1862, it appears that the Emperor urged the Pope to *renounce all claim on those portions of his dominions* which have *revolted from him;* and by recognizing Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, Napoleon III. has gone so far as to acknowledge the popular will as the arbiter of the destinies of the Papacy.

Can he stop there?

[3] See Civiltà Cattolica, 5th April, 1862, p. 119.

tration of Italy, was to despatch a note to all its Representatives at foreign courts, with a statement that "the King has received a mandate from the Parliament and the Nation to transfer the seat of Government to Rome" (20th March, 1862); and then it proceeded to assert its devout submission to the Pope as the Head of the Church, and its determination to "maintain him in the independent exercise of his *spiritual* power."

It would be presumptuous to speculate confidently concerning the future. But one remark occurs here. The Roman historian, Livy, when estimating the probable result of a conflict between Alexander the Great and the Roman Republic, justly remarks that Alexander's power was concentrated in *one man*, but the power of Rome had a corporate and permanent character; it was the power of a *Nation*[4]. So it may be said now. The policy and aspirations of Napoleon are those of an *individual;* they hang by the thread of

[4] Liv. Hist. ix. 18, "Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo, *unius* tamen ea magnitudo *hominis* erit, quam qui extollunt .... non intelligunt se *unius hominis* res gestas cum *populi rebus* conferre."

a single life; but the resolutions and desires of those who are on the other side are those of a *Nation*, and possess therefore more elements of stability and success.

Went this morning to the Capitol. The State-Carriages of the Senator and Conservators were drawn up on the area near the statue of Marcus Aurelius, in readiness to convey their masters to the Vatican, to congratulate the Pope on this day's Anniversary. The carriages were bedizened with vermilion, and a gilded shield inscribed with the letters S.P.Q.R., "Senatus Populusque Romanus." What a contrast to the days of old, when these words were carried aloft on the victorious standards of Rome, and the cars of the Scipios mounted to the Capitol in triumph, and the snow-white oxen of Clitumnus

"Romanos ad templa Deûm duxere triumphos[5]!"

The lacqueys of the Senator, &c., were dressed in crimson and yellow, and their masters in a costume like that in the pictures of the seventeenth century,—black, with broad white collars.

[5] Virg. Georg. ii. 148.

We saw a child sitting under the colonnade throwing away faded flowers—emblematical of the history of the spot.

Turned aside from the Capitol to the S.W., toward the Tarpeian Rock, which is in a garden filled with oleanders, pomegranates, and cactus, and commands an interesting view of the southern and western portions of Rome. Our guide was an old servant of the late Baron Bunsen, who resided here thirty years ago, as Prussian Minister, in the Palazzo Caffarelli, and the old man spoke of him in terms of affectionate gratitude. Let me also bear testimony to the genial kindness, frequently repeated, with which, in common with many other English friends who visited Rome at that time, I was welcomed in that palazzo; and to the intellectual enjoyment and instruction there provided for the guests, in those delightful evenings at the Prussian Embassy, and at the réunions of the Archæological Institute under the presidency of the Minister.

There was then a graceful refuge for Literature and the Arts at Rome, a quiet Arcadia, in the Society gathered together under that

hospitable roof; "sed hæc *priùs fuere*"—the din of politics and war has driven away the Muses from that peaceful retreat.

A French Priest, who joined us in coming from the Tarpeian Rock, responded in the affirmative to the remark suggested by the sight of the French soldiers quartered on the site of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, "La France est maîtresse de Rome."

We looked southward to the Palatine Hill, the ancient abode of Augustus and his successors. It is a noteworthy incident that the Emperor of the French has lately purchased a considerable portion of the imperial hill, *that* part which is nearest to the Via Sacra and the Roman Forum. A convent of French nuns is now domiciled there.

We crossed from the Tarpeian Rock to the Mamertine Prisons. A Mass was just over, which had been said in the lower cell, supposed by some to have been the prison of St. Peter; and an inscription is there visible in the wall, which affirms that the well of water there was miraculously produced by the Apostle; and that the indentation in the wall on

the stairs is an impression of St. Peter's head. It has been proved, however, that the well existed long before the age of St. Peter.

"Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi[6]."

Pity it is, that by affirming *too much*, the modern traditions have given encouragement to the scepticism which would believe *nothing*.

It is to be regretted, that even the Bishop of Orléans, in his sermon lately preached at Rome, should have said, that in his walks through Rome, the Mamertine Prisons had little interest for him as having been the dungeon of Jugurtha and of the accomplices of Catiline,—*which it is certain they were*,—and that when he, the Bishop, desired to recruit his courage, he went to those prisons *because* he there found *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*[7].

We descended the hill into the Forum—Campo Vaccino—significant name! eloquent memento of the instability of human great-

[6] Horat. Ars Poet. 188.

[7] P. 20. "C'est là que je retrouve *Pierre* et *Paul*. Que se passe-t-il dans l'âme de ces grands Apôtres, enchainés là tous deux, seuls, dans cet infect cachot?" No ancient authority can be cited in support of this assertion.

ness — goatherds and peasants, with loaded waggons of hay crossing to the Via dei Fenili close by, are now the principal living objects in the place formerly thronged with crowds of the ancient masters of the world, passing through the magnificent Forum in triumphal processions to the Capitol. If it were not for the Ruins and Churches, we might imagine ourselves living in the days of Evander;

"In Carinæ's street
The shepherd to his sheep . . . .
Sits piping with his oaten reed, as erst
Here piped the shepherd to his nibbling sheep,
When the humble roof Anchises' son explored
Of great Evander, wealth-despising king,
Amid the thickets; so revolves the scene;
So Time ordains, who rolls the things of pride
From dust again to dust[8]."

Went on through the Forum, along the Via Sacra, under the Arch of Titus, to the Colosseum,—

"The enormous Amphitheatre behold!
Mountainous pile, o'er whose capacious void
Pours the broad firmament its varied light,
While from the central floor the seats ascend,

[8] George Dyer's Ruins of Rome, p. 35.

Round above round, slow widening to the verge;
A circuit vast and high; nor less had held
Imperial Rome and her attendant realm,
When, drunk with power, she reel'd with fierce delight,
And oped the gloomy caverns, whence outrush'd
Before the innumerable shouting crowd
The fiery madden'd tyrants of the wilds,
Lions and tigers, wolves and elephants,
And desperate men more fell[9]."

The *Colosseum*, — or, as it is sometimes incorrectly called, *Coliseum*,—was probably so named from the Colossus of the Emperor Nero, which stood near it. The word "Colosseum" does not occur, I believe, in the extant works of any ancient Roman writers; it is said that it is first found in the writings of an Englishman—the Venerable Bede[1]. It was anciently called the "Flavian Amphitheatre," having been begun by one emperor of the Flavian family, Vespasian, and completed by another, his son Titus, who dedicated it, A.D. 80—with a slaughter of many thousand wild beasts. Its Architect is unknown.

[9] George Dyer's Ruins of Rome, p. 27.

[1] See the excellent description in Merivale's Rome, Vol. vii., page 40.

Wood-pigeons were flying about the lofty walls, and nestling in their crevices, and wild flowers were waving in the wind in the shattered arches, and above them was the beautiful clear sky; and the vast cavea was desolate, which was formerly thronged with crowds of eager spectators—it would contain more than 80,000—who came to witness the courageous combats of Christian Martyrs with the lions, which were let loose upon them from the dens beneath these arches, and rushed upon them in that arena; and in that arena itself now stands the Cross of Christ, with representations of the instruments of the Passion—the lance, the hyssop, and the reed.

Here indeed we are on safe ground; here we may come to recruit our flagging courage, without fear of contradiction. Here we may cheer ourselves with a remembrance of those who, like S. Ignatius, in weakness and old age, were brought from distant lands to be "a spectacle to men and angels" in this Amphitheatre. Here our hearts may be comforted, and our minds may be invigorated by a remembrance of the divine grace given to them from above, which enabled them to meet that

conflict with joy, and to be the gazing-stocks of those thousands of spectators, to be exposed to their sneers and scorn, and to confront those lions with courage, and to look up calmly and stedfastly into heaven, and to behold the glory that would be revealed in the heavenly City. "Suffer me," cried the aged Martyr, S. Ignatius—the scholar of the beloved disciple, St. John—in his address to the Roman Christians, "suffer me to be the food of wild beasts. Do not intercede for me. I know what is good for me[2]. Fire and the Cross, the assaults of wild beasts, the tearing of my limbs, the breaking of my bones, the grinding of my whole body—I welcome them all; only that I may gain Christ. I shall then begin to *live*. Do not envy me *life*. Do not desire that I should *die*. I long to be with God. Permit me to behold that pure light; when I shall arrive there, then I shall be a man of God. Permit me to be an imitator of the sufferings of *my God*."

With such words as these on their lips, the souls of the blessed Martyrs departed in peace,

[2] S. Ignatius, Epistle to the Romans, c. 4, c. 5, c. 6.

—and winged their flight to Paradise, like those doves which we saw nestling in the arches above us, and soaring in the clear blue sky, and they enjoyed the Psalmist's desire, "O that I had wings like a dove! for then would I flee away, and be at rest[3]."

The last words of S. Ignatius not only afford a striking testimony to the *Divinity* of the Saviour, but are also a proof that it was the recollection of His *sufferings* in His *Manhood*, and of the *glories* to which those sufferings led, which—with the help of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven by Christ when glorified, to abide for ever with His Church—enabled the Martyrs of the Colosseum to fight the good fight of faith, and to gain the palm of victory. It was that Cross—which now stands in the Arena, and has conquered the world—which cheered them in the conflict, and enabled them to win the crown. What stronger proof of the truth of the Gospel could be desired, than that which is supplied by the remembrance of the spectacles of Christian heroism, which were once seen in the

[3] Ps. lv. 6.

Colosseum, and by the subsequent history of Paganism on the one side, once dominant but now dead, and of Christianity on the other, once despised, and now diffused throughout the world!

Walked from the Colosseum to the Church of S. Clement, perhaps the most interesting church in Rome for antiquity. In its structure and in the arrangement of its parts it reminded us of the Church[4] of S. Ambrogio at Milan. Near this spot, S. Clement, the friend of St. Paul[5], as is probable, lived and taught, and S. Gregory the Great preached. You pass through an atrium or area (as at S. Ambrogio) before you enter the Church. In the Choir are ancient *ambones*[6] or pulpits, for the *reading* of the Epistle and Gospel,—the place for preaching sermons was on the steps of the altar.

It is said by a celebrated liturgical writer,

[4] Described above, Vol. i., p. 118, &c.

[5] Phil. iv. 3.

[6] The reader may see plans of ancient churches, with an explanation of the appropriate names of their various parts, in *Bingham's* Antiquities, book viii., chap. iii.—vii.

Martene[7], that in this Church of S. Clement, "the oldest of Rome, there were *three* ambons; two on the right side, one for the Epistle, turned towards the Altar; another for other lessons of Scripture, towards the people; a third, rather higher and more adorned, on the left side, for the Gospel."

In the apse, the vault of the tribune is inlaid with mosaics executed at the end of the thirteenth century, representing our Saviour on the Cross, from which issue four rivers of Paradise, the Cross being "the tree of life in the midst of the garden;" and shepherds and their flocks are displayed as refreshed thereby.

Beneath the present Church of S. Clement are the remains of *another* still more ancient church, which has recently been brought to light by the Dominican Prior, Dr. Mullooly. How it came to pass that this Church was ruined, or forgotten, it is difficult to say. Among other remarkable objects in it is an ancient fresco of Bishops of Rome arranged in the following order:—

1. Linus[8].

[7] *Martene* de Ant. Ecc. Disc. i., col. 373, ed. 1736.

[8] *S. Irenæus*, iii. 3, affirms that Linus was settled at

2. Clemens.

3. Petrus.

Yet Rome now asserts that Peter was the *first* Bishop of Rome, and founder of the Church there, and builds the claim to supremacy of Roman Bishops on the supposed fact of their being successors to him. The *uncertainty* of the chronology of the earlier Roman Bishops[9] is in itself a strong—may we not call it, a providential argument?—against the claims put forth by Bishops of Rome, on the ground of his being the founder of their see, and of their succession to him.

Went in the evening to a villa on Monte Mario, where we spent some agreeable hours. We passed near that beautiful pine-tree which was rescued by the late Sir George Beaumont from destruction, and which suggested some

Bishop of Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul (cp. *Epiphan.* Hær. xxvii., and *Eusebius*, iii. 2), and that after Linus came Anacletus, then Clement. iii. 3.

[9] Compare *Bishop Pearson*, Opera Postuma, vol. ii., cap. vi., p. 322; cap. x., pp. 393—395. The Catalogue given by *Eusebius* in his History does not coincide with that in his Chronicle; see Pearson, cap. xi., p. 406, and p. 433, and *Clinton*, Fasti Hellenici, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 538, and *Burgon's* Letters from Rome, p. 155.

affecting verses of his friend the late Poet Laureate[1]. The villa commands a beautiful view of Rome—most beautiful in the evening—and of the course of the Tiber, and the Milvian Bridge—the site of Constantine's victory over Maxentius—and Mount Soracte, and the Sabine and Alban hills.

The Roman Poet's words aptly describe it,—

> "Puris leniter admoventur astris
> Celsæ culmina delicata villæ;
> Hinc septem dominos videre montes
> Et totam licet æstimare Romam.
> Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles[2]."

Rome is isolated in the midst of the sea of the Campagna; it has no suburbs.

In returning home, I was congratulating our driver on the prospect of a good harvest, and on the probable cheapness of wine and oil, upon which he rejoined that *cheapness* of provisions was not a necessary consequence of *abundance*, inasmuch as from the concession,

[1] Memorials of a Tour in Italy, ii. "I saw far off the dark top of a Pine," &c.

[2] Martial iv. 64.

by the Government, of privileges of *monopoly* to certain capitalists, they were able to command what prices they chose from the consumer. A friend of ours told us that when he was at Albano, he complained of the price and badness of the bread, and threatened to leave his baker for another, but was told that this would make no difference, for the quality and price of bread were ruled by a monopolist, who had purchased from the Government the right of exclusive supply to the public of the staff of life.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

ROME (*continued*).

Wednesday, June 18.—Went to S. Maria Maggiore and S. John Lateran. How many interesting events are connected with these churches, especially the latter! A history of the councils held in this Basilica would almost be a history of the Papacy since the twelfth century, in its relations to the struggles of the Reformation. It would bring before us the discussion of the question of Investiture of Bishops (a question at this time so important for Italy) in the first Lateran Council in the year 1122; the prohibition of marriage to the Clergy, and the separation of those who were married. It would remind us of the attempt of the Church of Rome, in the second Lateran Council, A.D. 1139, to appease the schism in the Papacy between Innocent II. and Anacle-

tus II.; the condemnation of the doctrines of Peter Abelard, and of his disciple, Arnald of Brescia, whose opinions concerning the *temporal*[1] power of the Papacy have been revived with extraordinary energy at the present day, as if the ashes of his body, burnt for his opinions, had been quickened again with life:

"Even in his ashes live their wonted fires."

It would record that at the third Lateran Council in A.D. 1179, the Church of Rome prohibited the Romish Bishops from doing, what they *now* do not hesitate to do in Italy, namely, from pronouncing a sentence of suspension on their clergy, "*ex informatâ conscientiâ*," as it is termed, viz. without previous statement of the grounds of the sentence, and without giving an opportunity to the Clerk to defend himself, and without a judicial hearing of the cause. It would commemorate the condemnation, at the fourth Council, held here in A.D. 1215, of the tenets of the Albigenses and Waldenses; and the proclamation of "a cru-

[1] An account of which may be seen in Gibbon's Hist. chap. lxix.

sade or holy war, for their extermination;" and a promise of indulgences to all who engaged in that war; and it would recall to our memories the consequences of this and like decrees, extending over many generations, and deluging the valleys of Piedmont with blood, and perhaps bringing back at this day, with something like divine retribution upon Rome, severe chastisements from that same country, Piedmont, which was the victim of her rage, and from that very House, the House of Savoy, which was excited by the Papacy to exterminate its own subjects on account of their religion.

Such a history also would relate the condemnation here, at the fourth Lateran Council, in A.D. 1215, of the Abbot Joachim of Calabria, who was celebrated in that age for his expositions of the Apocalypse, which are still extant, and are deeply interesting at this time[2], in reference to the destiny of Rome. It would chronicle the abolition of the *Prag-*

[2] They may be seen in Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles, vol. ii. fol. 1600. The author of this volume has made some extracts from them in Appendix C. to his Greek Text of the Apocalypse, Lond. 1849.

matic Sanction by the Council held here under Pope Leo X. in 1512, and the substitution of a *Concordat*, between the Pope, Leo X., and Francis I., the King of France, and the condemnation of the anti-papal decrees of the Council of Bâle,—measures which were very injurious to the religious freedom of France, and are exerting their influence at this day.

These, and other historical associations, impart especial interest to this noble Basilica of S. John Lateran, and may well give rise to many serious reflections and stirring emotions at this time.

Visited the 'Scala Santa' or Sacred Stairs, at the N.E. of the Lateran. You are required by the Church of Rome to believe that these stairs once belonged to Pilate's house at Jerusalem, and that our blessed Lord ascended them on the morning of the crucifixion. I read the inscriptions there, in which she announces that any one, who is penitent, and will ascend the stairs on his knees, may thus obtain I know not how many days or years of indulgence.

These Indulgences were granted by Pope Paschalis II. in A.D. 1100, and were confirmed

by Pope Pius VII. in the present century, A.D. 1817.

Another fable meets you on the other side of the Piazza, at the Baptistery, where you are assured by another inscription that the Emperor Constantine was baptized here by Pope Sylvester. This story is, I believe, abandoned by respectable Roman Catholic historians[3], but the misfortune is that it still holds its ground at Rome on these public monuments of the Church.

A great benefit would be conferred on Church history, and on the cause of Religion, and on the Church of Rome herself, if the "Congregation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition" at Rome, and the "Congregation of the Index" could be induced to apply to those inscriptions some of the industry and zeal which they now expend in proscribing such books as are written against the Pope's temporal power, and which advocate a return to primitive Catholic Antiquity; and if they would apply their talents and time to the

[3] On the authority of Euseb. Vit. Constantin. iv. 61, 62.

compilation of an "Index expurgatorius" of all the falsehoods which now disfigure the columns, the churches, and even the altars of Rome, and which might almost make Truth hide her face, and say, "Quid Romæ faciam? mentiri nescio[4]."

In the Baptistery of S. John Lateran there is a chapel which, as the sacristan informed us, ladies may not enter, on account of the great number of relics of saints under the altar; and then he enumerated them, some pieces of the cross, &c. &c., adding, they are never exhibited, "non s'espongono mai."

Went from the Baptistery to the Lateran Museum. The formation of this Museum of Christian Antiquities and Art is due to the present Pope, Pius IX.; it is one of the most interesting collections in the world. However we may regret that the Catacombs have been rifled of their contents, and despoiled of their sarcophagi, frescoes, and inscriptions, yet we may find some consolation in seeing them preserved and displayed here, and in the Vatican Museum.

[4] Juv. iii. 41.

Here you may refresh your eyes and mind with the genuine ancient delineations of the Miracles of the Old and New Testaments, especially those connected with the divine work of feeding and invigorating the faithful in their pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world, represented by the striking of the Rock in the desert, and "that Rock was Christ[5];" the miraculous feedings in the desert by our blessed Lord, "the Good Shepherd[6]," a figure often repeated; the encouragements in suffering and Death, and the glad hopes of deliverance and Resurrection to glory, suggested by pictures of Elijah mounting to heaven, the Three Children delivered from the furnace, Daniel rescued from the den of lions, Jonah cast into the sea, swallowed by the whale, and emerging from the deep, and the raising of Lazarus. These, and similar remains of ancient Christian Art, are like eloquent Homilies and Sermons, preached in the ears of the world by the voice of the primitive Church,—the Church of ancient Saints and Martyrs,—speaking from the graves of the Catacombs.

[5] 1 Cor. x. 4. [6] John x. 11.

Another object which holds a conspicuous place in this Museum, and commands peculiar attention, is a statue at the end of the gallery—the statue of *S. Hippolytus*.

S. Hippolytus was a scholar of S. Irenæus, and was Bishop of Portus, the maritime city and port,—whence its name,—at the northern mouth of the Tiber, about fifteen miles from Rome, where is still standing the tower of a Church bearing the name of S. Hippolytus.

S. Hippolytus occupied the Episcopal see of Portus in the earlier part of the third century, and was a suffragan of the Church of Rome, and died a martyr for the faith[7]. Several of his works, written in the Greek language, are still extant, and he has ever been recognized by Christendom as one of the most learned and eloquent writers of the Western Church.

Two important discoveries have been made, in later times, which shed much light on his history.

The first discovery was that of this *statue*,

[7] See *Prudentius*, Peri Stephanôn, xi. 152; and p. 46 of the work quoted in the next note.

which was found in the year 1551 by workmen who were making excavations in an ancient Cemetery, near the Church of S. Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome, on the eastern side of the city, bordering on the Via Tiburtina, or road which leads to Tivoli.

It is a marble figure clothed in a pallium, seated in a chair, and is probably the oldest *Christian* statue in existence. The two sides and back of the chair are covered with Greek inscriptions[8], which serve to prove that the statue is a figure of S. Hippolytus.

This statue of S. Hippolytus, which was found in a mutilated condition when it was dug up, was repaired by order of Pope Pius IV., and was placed by him in the Vatican[9], from which it has been transferred to this Museum by Pius IX.

The second discovery was a still more in-

[8] The Author of the present volume has given a fuller account of them in the fifth chapter of his work on "S. Hippolytus, and the Church of Rome, in the earlier part of the third century." Lond. 1853.

[9] An engraving of it may be seen in the works of S. Hippolytus, by Fabricius, Hamburg, 1716, and in Cardinal Mai's Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, Rome, 1825, of which it is the frontispiece.

teresting one. It was due to the Government of King Louis-Philippe, which encouraged the literary enterprise of those who in their successful researches among the treasures of Mount Athos discovered a lost treatise of S. Hippolytus, which has revealed, for the first time, a portion of the early history of the Church of Rome. That document has shown, that the present Romish dogmas of Papal Infallibility and Supremacy were unknown in the *earlier ages of the Church of Rome.*

Rome herself recognizes Hippolytus as a Saint; but Hippolytus did not recognize the Bishop of Rome as possessing spiritual authority over the other Bishops of the Church [1].

He himself informs us that he resisted two Bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus and Callistus, because they taught what was heretical; yet he remained in the See of Portus, a suffragan of the See of Rome, till his death, and he is now revered as a Saint and a Martyr, in the Breviary [2] of the Church of Rome.

[1] This is shown in the Author's volume on S. Hippolytus; chap. xii. pp. 204—222.

[2] See Breviarium Romanum, where there is a special commemoration of S. Hippolytus on Aug. 22.

May we not even say, that S. Hippolytus was reverenced by the *primitive* Church of Rome, *because* he *resisted* two of her Bishops when they gainsaid the Truth, and because he rescued her by his courage, piety, and learning, from the heresy which was patronized by them? While we contemplate this statue of the holy Bishop and Martyr, calmly sitting in this noble repository of early Christian Art, may we not offer a prayer that the Church of Rome, of the present day may imitate her former self; that she may not anathematize all who resist the extravagant claims and unrighteous usurpations of her Popes, but may listen to the voice of Truth, and bless those who utter it?

May we not say that S. Hippolytus himself, who contended for the True Faith against two Popes in succession, and who was one of the most eloquent Fathers of the Western Church, now sitting here in the calm and peaceful atmosphere of primitive Christianity, and in the neighbourhood of the Church of S. John Lateran, where so many Councils were held, preaches here a Sermon to the Church of Rome, and to the present age, on those great questions which are now agitated in Europe,

and the World? May his teaching and example be blessed in these troubled times, and promote the cause of Truth, the peace of Nations, and the glory of God!

Walked from S. John Lateran by the Via S. Stefano Rotondo,—a beautiful road skirted by the remains of the old Claudian Aqueduct, interspersed with gardens of oleanders and pomegranates with scarlet flowers, and bright green glossy leaves, hanging over the richly-tinted brick arches of the Aqueduct. My former visit to Rome was in the winter; and our present sojourn here in the summer has forcibly impressed me with the feeling that much of the beauty of Rome is lost by those who see it only in the dead and dreary season of the year. We came down on the picturesque old Church of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, and, after that, on the Church and Convent of S. Gregorio, so interesting to Englishmen, and which has been so happily described by our learned and accomplished friend, the Rev. J. W. Burgon, in his interesting Letters from Rome[3].

[3] Burgon's Letters, xxi. pp. 262—266.

Thence we proceeded along the Via de' Cerchi, having the Palatine on our right, and the site of the Circus Maximus on our left; passed the little circular Temple of Vesta, the Arch of Janus, and the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. Turning to the right we came suddenly on a clear stream of water, gushing down from high rocks, overgrown with ferns and moss, moist with drops like dew; close to it is a Sewer, constructed of massive stones, in which a stream of turbid water flows from beneath an arch, mingles with the pure element of the fountain, and runs onward toward the Tiber. Some Roman women were standing near the clear pool, on fragments of carved marble slabs and blocks, washing their linen. This Sewer is the famous *Cloaca Maxima*, dating from the age of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome, and is 2500 years old. The women told us, that the clear spring was called Acqua Argentina, from its bright silver hue. A person there informed us that he had come to drink it on account of its salubrious properties. There was a stall with lemons upon it, ready cut for making lemonade from the fresh water gushing from the rock. Alto-

gether, it was a very picturesque scene. The clear bright water from the natural spring, contrasted with the muddy torrent flowing into it, was an expressive emblem of Rome herself; especially in her religious system, where the pure element of Divine Truth is mingled with human traditions which blend themselves with it, and sully it with their turbid stream.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Thursday, June 19th.—Among the pleasant sights of these early summer mornings in Rome, are the picturesque groups of white goats, reposing at the sides of the streets, and tended by goatherds in their country costumes,—high black conical hats, and blue velvet jackets, grey stockings, and bright neckcloths,—who have driven these flocks many miles from the Campagna into the city, in order to supply fresh milk to the inhabitants.

To-day is the great festival of the *Corpus Domini;* at an early hour all the world was setting out toward St. Peter's. The piazza in front of the Church was occupied by French troops. But in consequence of a shower of rain, the Pope resolved that the procession

should not make the circuit of the piazza, and the troops were drawn off.

The history of the institution of this festival is very significant. In the thirteenth century (A.D. 1262), a time of moral corruption and ungodliness, as Roman writers testify, a Priest, who did not believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation, was celebrating mass at Bolsena, in Tuscany, and saw the host trickle with blood; which is the subject of one of Raffaelle's frescoes in the Vatican, in the stanza of Heliodorus. Pope Urban IV. heard the tidings of the prodigy, and went to Bolsena, and gave orders that the corporal tinged with blood should be carried in procession to the cathedral of Orvieto, where it is still shown. In the year 1230 a holy woman near Liège, a Cistercian nun, Santa Giuliana, had a vision, in which she beheld the Moon, which, although full, seemed to have a portion of it broken off; and when she asked what was the meaning of this fragmentary appearance, she was informed that the Moon represented the Church, and the gap in it denoted the absence of a great solemnity which was necessary to complete its fulness; and that this

solemnity was the festival of *Corpus Domini*[1]. It was revealed as the divine will that a certain day in every year should be set apart for the veneration of the Holy Sacrament. The Bishop of Liège adopted the suggestion; and it was confirmed by the Apostolic Legate in Belgium. Pope Urban IV., being stimulated by what had occurred in Bolsena, and desirous of providing a perpetual protest against the doctrines of Berengarius, which were then rife, carried the matter further, and decreed that the festival of the "*Corpus Domini*" should be celebrated every year, on the Thursday after the octave of Whitsunday, and he gave a commission to the celebrated Thomas Aquinas (the "doctor angelicus"), then at Rome, to compose a suitable religious office for the occasion. It is said that Bonaventura attempted the task, but abandoned it as soon as he had seen the office which was composed by Thomas Aquinas.

The annual observance of the Festival has

[1] This account of the origin of the festival may be seen in a work now in the 13th edition, by Dom. Giuseppe Riva, Penitentiary of the Cathedral of Milan, A.D. 1862, p. 300.

received additional sanction from the Council of Trent, in 1551 [2].

The circumstances of the procession have differed at different times; formerly the "*Corpus Domini*" was carried by Popes through the streets; sometimes the ceremony took place at the Church of S. John Lateran, and the host was carried thence to S. Clement's Church. But since the completion of St. Peter's Church by Paul V., who came to the Popedom in 1605, it has been associated with this Church.

The *talamo* (thalamus), or portable stage, on which the Pope is placed aloft, and carried in an attitude of adoring the host, and on which he is usually borne, from his Palace in the Vatican, in a long procession under the colonnade—hung with rich arras, and strewed with sprigs of box and flowers,—and so makes the tour of the piazza and enters the Church, dates from the age of Pope Alexander VII., A.D. 1655, and is represented on his coins.

To-day at an early hour in the morning the Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and the members of the religious Orders of Rome,

[2] Sess. xiii. cap. 5.

who were to take part in the procession, assembled at the Vatican; and the Mass was commenced by the Pope in the Sistine Chapel. After the Mass, the Pope ascended the *talamo*, and the procession was formed. The Regular Orders took the lead, each of the members bearing a lighted torch in his hand. They walked in the following order:—

1. The Franciscans.
2. The barefooted Augustinians.
3. The Capuchins.
4. The Girolamites.
5. The Minims of S. Francesco di Paola.
6. The Franciscans of the third order.
7. The Conventual Minorites.
8. The Reformed Minorites.
9. The "Minori Osservanti."
10. The Augustinians.
11. The Carmelites.
12. The "Servi di Maria."
13. The Dominicans.

No Jesuits were there. *That* order seems to take a pride in setting itself apart from the rest.

Then came the *Monastic* Orders:—

1. The Olivetans.

2. The Cistercians.
3. The Camaldolites.
4. The Monks of the order of Mte. Cassino.
5. The Lateran Canons of S. Salvatore.

Then came the Students of the "Seminario Romano," followed by the *Secular* Clergy of Rome, viz.:—

1. The fifty-four Parochial Incumbents of Rome.
2. The Canons and "Beneficiati" of the Collegiate Churches of Rome.
3. The Chapters of the four lesser Basilicas of Rome.
4. The Chapters of the three greater or Patriarchal Basilicas of Rome; that is, of S. Maria Maggiore, St. Peter's, and, lastly, of S. John Lateran.

Each of the Basilicas has its own insignia, which consist of a large *Padiglione* or Pavilion, like a huge umbrella, with bells, and of large massive Crosses, some of which were very magnificent.

Then came the members of the Papal Chapel, and other officers of the Pope, among whom were the "Camerieri Segreti," who bore the *triregni*, tiaras, or triple crowns of the Pope;

there were four of these tiaras; then the Penitentiaries of the Vatican; then the mitred Abbots, and then the Bishops and Archbishops, of whom there were about a hundred, in their dresses of white and gold, with white mitres; then the Cardinals,—Antonelli was among them;—then the Papal Guard, then the Conservators and Governor of Rome.

Last of all, in the distance, were seen the fans of white peacock's feathers in the air, and between them the Pope, carried aloft on men's shoulders under a splendid baldacchino, in the attitude of adoration of the Host, which is set in a magnificent *ostensorio* of gold and jewels, fixed before him.

The Pope *appears* to be *kneeling*, but is he really so? Two wooden legs projecting from behind serve sometimes to keep up the semblance of the attitude of adoration; whether this was the case in the present year I cannot say; but I know from an eye-witness that this device has been resorted to.

The baldacchino is supported successively by the pupils of the different colleges of Rome, the German, the Urban, the English, and the Irish.

The procession passed onward, singing the celebrated Hymn [3] of Thomas Aquinas,—

"Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium,
Sanguinisque pretiosi, quem in Mundi pretium
Fructus ventris generosi rex effudit Gentium.

Nobis datus, nobis natus ex intacta Virgine,
Et in mundo conversatus, sparso verbi semine,
Sui moras incolatus miro clausit ordine.

In supremæ nocte cœnæ recumbens cum fratribus,
Observata lege plene cibis in legalibus,
Cibum turbæ duodenæ se dat suis manibus.

Verbum caro panem verum Verbo carnem efficit,
Fitque Sanguis Christi merum, et, si sensus deficit,
Ad firmandum cor sincerum sola fides sufficit.

Tantum ergo Sacramentum veneremur cernui;
Et antiquum documentum novo cedat ritui:
Præstet fides supplementum sensuum defectui.

Genitori, Genitoque, laus, et jubilatio,
Salus, honor, virtus quoque sit, et benedictio:
Procedenti ab utroque compar sit laudatio. Amen."

And another also by S. Thomas Aquinas [4],—

"Sacris solemniis juncta sint gaudia,
Et ex præcordiis sonent præconia;

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[3] Which may be seen in *Daniel's* Thesaurus Hymnologicus, i. p. 251; the other Hymns here mentioned may also be found there; see pp. 63. 196. 252. 254; ii. 97.

[4] See *Daniel*, Thes. Hymn. i. 252.

Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia,
Corda, voces, et opera.

Noctis recolitur cœna novissima;
Qua Christus creditur agnum, et azyma
Dedisse fratribus, juxta legitima
Priscis indulta patribus.

Post agnum typicum expletis epulis,
Corpus Dominicum datum discipulis,
Sic totum omnibus, quod totum singulis,
Ejus fatemur manibus.

Dedit fragilibus corporis ferculum;
Dedit et tristibus sanguinis poculum;
Dicens, Accipite quod trado vasculum,
Omnes ex eo bibite.

Sic Sacrificium istud instituit,
Cujus officium committi voluit
Solis Presbyteris, quibus sic congruit,
Ut sumant, et dent cæteris.

Panis Angelicus fit panis hominum,
Dat panis cœlicus figuris terminum:
O res mirabilis! manducat Dominum
Pauper, servus, et humilis.

Te trina Deitas, unaque poscimus:
Sic nos tu visita, sicut te colimus:
Per tuas semitas duc nos quo tendimus,
Ad lucem quam inhabitas. Amen."

And another by the same Author,—

"Verbum supernum prodiens,
Nec Patris linquens dexteram,
Ad opus suum exiens,
Venit ad vitæ vesperam.

In mortem a discipulo
Suis tradendus æmulis,
Prius in vitæ ferculo
Se tradidit discipulis.

Quibus sub bina specie
Carnem dedit et sanguinem,
Ut duplicis substantiæ
Totum cibaret hominem.

Se nascens dedit socium,
Convescens in edulium,
Se moriens in pretium,
Se regnans dat in præmium.

O salutaris Hostia,
Quæ Cœli pandis ostium,
Bella premunt hostilia,
Da robur, fer auxilium.

Uni, trinoque Domino
Sit sempiterna gloria,
Qui vitam sine termino
Nobis donet in patria. Amen."

And that ascribed by some to S. Ambrose,—

"Salutis humanæ Sator,
Jesu voluptas cordium,

Orbis redempti Conditor,
Et casta lux amantium.

Qua victus es clementia,
Ut nostra ferres crimina,
Mortem subires innocens,
A morte nos ut tolleres?

Perrumpis infernum chaos;
Vinctis catenas detrahis;
Victor triumpho nobili
Ad dexteram Patris sedes.

Te cogat indulgentia,
Ut damna nostra sarcias,
Tuique vultus compotes
Dites beato limine.

Tu dux ad astra, et semita,
Sis meta nostris cordibus,
Sis lacrymarum gaudium,
Sis dulce vitæ præmium. Amen."

And another also ascribed by some to the same writer,—

"Æterne Rex altissime,
Redemptor et fidelium,
Cui mors perempta detulit
Summæ triumphum gloriæ:

Ascendis orbes siderum,
Quo te vocabat cœlitus
Collata, non humanitus,
Rerum potestas omnium;

Ut trina rerum machina,
Cœlestium, terrestrium,
Et inferorum condita,
Flectat genu jam subdita.

Tremunt videntes Angeli
Versam vicem mortalium:
Peccat caro, mundat caro,
Regnat Deus Dei caro.

Sis ipse nostrum gaudium,
Manens olympo præmium,
Mundi regis qui fabricam,
Mundana vincens gaudia.

Hinc te precantes quæsumus,
Ignosce culpis omnibus,
Et corda sursum subleva
Ad te superna gratia.

Ut cum repente cœperis
Clarere nube Judicis,
Pœnas repellas debitas,
Reddas coronas perditas.

Jesu tibi sit gloria,
Qui natus es de Virgine,
Cum Patre, et almo Spiritu
In sempiterna sæcula. Amen."

And that also by Thomas Aquinas,—

"Lauda Sion Salvatorem, lauda Ducem et Pastorem, in hymnis et canticis.
Quantum potes, tantum aude, quia major omni laude, nec laudare sufficis.

Laudis thema specialis, panis vivus et vitalis, hodie proponitur.

Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ, turbæ fratrum duodenæ datum non ambigitur.

Sit laus plena, sit sonora, sit jucunda, sit decora mentis jubilatio.

Dies enim solemnis agitur, in qua mensæ prima recolitur hujus institutio.

In hac mensa novi Regis novum Pascha novæ legis Phase vetus terminat;

Vetustatem novitas, umbram fugat veritas, noctem lux eliminat.

Quod in cœna Christus gessit, faciendum hoc expressit in sui memoriam.

Docti sacris institutis, panem, vinum in salutis consecramus hostiam.

Dogma datur Christianis, quod in carnem transit panis, et vinum in sanguinem;

Quod non capis, quod non vides, animosa firmat fides, præter rerum ordinem.

Sub diversis speciebus, signis tantum, et non rebus, latent res eximiæ;

Caro cibus, sanguis potus; manet tamen Christus totus sub utraque specie;

A sumente non concisus, non confractus, non divisus, integer accipitur.

Sumit unus, sumunt mille; quantum isti tantum ille; nec sumptus consumitur;

Sumunt boni, sumunt mali, sorte tamen inæquali, vitæ, vel interitus;

Mors est malis, vita bonis: vide paris sumptionis quam sit dispar exitus!

Fracto demum Sacramento, ne vacilles, sed memento, tantum esse sub fragmento, quantum toto tegitur;

Nulla rei fit scissura; signi tantum fit fractura: qua nec status, nec statura signati minuitur.

Ecce Panis Angelorum, factus cibus viatorum; vere panis filiorum, non mittendus canibus.

In figuris præsignatur, cum Isaac immolatur; Agnus Paschæ deputatur; datur manna patribus.

Bone pastor, panis vere, Jesu nostri miserere: tu nos pasce, nos tuere, tu nos bona fac videre in terra viventium.

Tu, qui cuncta scis, et vales, qui nos pascis hic mortales, tuos ibi commensales, cohæredes et sodales fac sanctorum civium. Amen."

These Hymns are followed by several Psalms, the 19th, 28th, 29th, 32nd, 65th, 83rd, 102nd, 144th.

When the Pope entered the Church, a loud flourish of military music burst forth, which was not in harmony with the ceremonial. Then followed the "Te Deum," and the Pope was carried up toward the Altar, and descended from the *talamo*, and placed the host upon the altar, and held it up to the multitude, who bowed in adoration before it.

The Ex-King and Queen of Naples were

present at the ceremony, and many members of their family.

Such was the ceremonial of the *Corpus Domini* in the year 1862.

It displayed in a striking manner the spiritual power of Rome. The Pope might be compared to a General at the head of his troops. He passed as it were in review his vast ecclesiastical army of regular and secular clergy, all united in one great religious act, with sound of music, and colours flying, all ready for the battle.

But when we come to examine the true character of this magnificent spectacle, we may feel an emotion of awe, and almost shudder with dread.

The act, in which the Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, and Clergy, regular and secular, of Rome were engaged, was one which brings out, in the strongest manner, the dogma of the carnal presence of Our Blessed Lord in the Holy Eucharist, the dogma of Transubstantiation. And yet it sets at defiance the words of the Saviour Himself, who instituted the Lord's Supper, and whom it professes to revere. Why is the Sacrament to be broken,

as it were, into two? Why is the Eucharistic *Bread* to be chosen as an object of veneration, and why is no homage to be paid to the Eucharistic *Cup?* If adoration is due to the one, why not to the other? And why was it required that all this vast multitude should bow their heads before the consecrated wafer, and yet not one of these assembled thousands was invited or permitted to comply with our Lord's command, "*Take, eat;*" "*Drink ye all* of this?" Why were the people *ordered* to *adore*, and not one of them *permitted* to *communicate?* And yet the Pope is to be acknowledged by the whole human race to be the Supreme Head of the Church, and the Representative and Vicar of Jesus Christ!

If, also, the crowd, which assembled here on this day, really believed—and if the Pope and Cardinals and Bishops really believed—that Jesus Christ Himself was there bodily present in that wafer before their eyes, how is it to be explained that the people could venture, —and were permitted by the Vicar of Christ, and by the Cardinals and Bishops who passed in procession among them,—to gaze and to talk so familiarly as they did, and to behave with

as little reverence as if they had been at a theatre?

All the Hymns and Psalms used on this occasion (as in all the religious services of the Roman Church at Rome) were in *Latin*. Few, if any, of the vast multitude of the people assembled did, or could join in them, or understand them. By retaining the *Latin* language in her services,—now that Latin has ceased to be a living tongue,—Rome maintains the dominion of her Clergy above the Laity; and she unites with herself her Bishops and Clergy from all parts of the world, such as are gathered at Rome at this time, in one hierarchical language. She would be doing well, *if* the worship of God were designed to be ministerial to sacerdotal dignity, and to her own aggrandizement, and not to the Divine glory and to the salvation of souls.

The brilliant splendour of the magnificent equipages of the Cardinals and Bishops, who took part in the ceremony, could not fail to suggest many reflections.

The Piazza dazzled the eye with the gold and scarlet of that magnificent cavalcade, and with the rich colours of their carriages, and

the gaudy trappings of their horses, and the embroidered liveries of their servants. Few of the Cardinals were content with one servant behind their carriage, but must needs have two or three tall lacqueys crowded together on the footboard at the back of their splendid vehicles.

If the Pope of Rome and his Hierarchy were resolved to inspire and keep alive a feeling of popular indignation against the *temporal* power of the Roman See, they could not devise a more effectual mode of doing so, than by this pompous ostentation of sacerdotal pride and pageantry on such an occasion as this, when they profess to meet together for a spiritual purpose,—for the solemn worship of Him, "Who was a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief[5]," and "Who had not where to lay His head[6]," and who instituted the Holy Sacrament of His blessed body and blood on the eve of His bitter Passion.

We went in the evening to the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Though its archi-

[5] Isa. liii. 3.

[6] Matt. viii. 20.

tecture is of a heterogeneous kind,—Gothic mixed with Palladian,—and though the stained glass is of a poor style of art, yet they produce more of a religious feeling of solemnity than is usually engendered by Roman Churches; many of which are noble and magnificent buildings, but are deficient in those hallowing and awe-inspiring influences which are the best characteristics of a Christian sanctuary. How brilliant are the ceilings of Santa Maria Maggiore and of S. John Lateran! but are they not more like *temples* than *churches?*

The dim religious light of this Church was soothing and tranquillizing after the gaudy spectacle of the morning. The congregation was waiting for a sermon by a Dominican friar. He took for his subject the vision in the bush at Horeb to Moses, "Abscondit Moyses faciem suam, non enim audebat aspicere[7]." The act of adoration, by which Moses showed his reverence for God manifesting Himself in the flame of fire in the bush, was exemplary (he said) to Christians, and taught them a lesson which they greatly need to

[7] Exod. iii. 6.

learn,—what their veneration ought to be for the "augustissimo sagramento dell' Eucaristia," which was commended to their religious meditation on this day. He then proceeded to consider the Holy Eucharist,—

1. As a proof of divine love.
2. As the means of human strength.

He dilated on the evidence shown of Christ's love in the Holy Eucharist, instituted by Him on the eve of His crucifixion, to be the instrument by which His perpetual presence would be vouchsafed to His Church, even till His second Coming; and which therefore is a never-failing source of spiritual strength to the faithful. "Why" (he asked) "were the primitive Christians so eminent in courage and in love? It was because they communicated with Christ daily in the Holy Eucharist. How was it that S. Lawrence was enabled to smile with joy amid the flames? It was because One 'like the Son of God' was with him in the fire. Why should not we be like the first Martyrs in Christian graces? We also may be Martyrs, if we know where our strength lies—in communion with Christ. But you say this is an age of progress, it is an

age of light; and that we do not need the spiritual graces by which the Martyrs were enabled to do and suffer what they did. But, brethren, how are we to make real progress, except by following Christ, who is the Way? How are we to be really illuminated, except by coming to Him, who is the Light? True Progress and genuine Light cannot be found except in the Catholic Church. Come, therefore, come boldly to her, come hither to us, and feed upon Christ; come, and eat His flesh[8]. How much better, and how much happier would you thus be, than in following the frivolous pleasures and dissipations of the world! If you have Christ with you, you will escape death. How often may we say to Christ in the words of Martha, 'Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died!'"

There was one portion of the subject which was not touched upon, viz. the requisite dispositions, of repentance, faith, charity, for the reception of the Holy Eucharist; and the

[8] He did *not add* "*Drink His Blood.*" It is painful to observe how Roman Preachers are met by difficulties produced by the doctrines and practices of their own Church.

impression left on the hearers might perhaps be that the work would be effected for them, without correspondent efforts on their part; perhaps something of the "opus operatum" showed itself in the discourse: but preachers cannot say every thing, and let us therefore be content with what we heard, which seemed to be spoken from the heart.

Vespers followed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ROME (*continued*).

Friday, June 20th.—Called on Signor Augusto Castellani, Via di Poli, who has one of the most beautiful collections of works in gold and gems in Rome, especially from ancient works of art found in Etruscan tombs, and in the Christian catacombs; and who has added to the honours gained for the name of Castellani by his father and by his brother in the history of art. He has written a learned discourse on ancient working in gold, of which he gave me a copy. He observes, as a remarkable fact, that the Romans in their admiration for *Grecian* art, were almost blind to the beautiful works of *Etruria*, which, having been brought to light by excavations in her ancient sepulchres, are better known and appreciated at Rome in the *present* age than they were in the

days of Augustus. The discoveries made at Herculaneum and Pompeii show that the Italian workmen in metallurgy at that time had degenerated from the standard of centuries long past; and after the fall of the Roman Empire a gradual decline was visible, till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it received an original and indigenous impulse in the school of Benvenuto Cellini. But this was of short duration, and the art sunk to its lowest depth in the seventeenth century. It has now been revived by means of the inspiration derived from the objects of ancient art which have recently been brought to light. Any one who is interested in such graceful and exquisite specimens as were produced in former ages, will be greatly gratified by a visit to the richly stored apartments of Signor A. Castellani.

Visited the Vatican; pictures and sculptures, which I will not attempt to describe.

The following notes were made by one of my companions:—

Friday, June 20th.—Went to the Vatican. Picture gallery. Small but exquisite collection. Domenichino's Communion of S. Je-

rome, Raffaelle's Transfiguration, and Madonna di Foligno, all in one room. One did not know which to look at first, or most; Raffaelle is in all his glory here. His picture of the Coronation of the Virgin, however contrary to the religious principles of any but a Roman Catholic, is exquisite as a work of art; the grace, the ease, the refined beauty of those figures and faces must delight every one. In the upper portion of the picture the Virgin is seen receiving the crown from our Lord, amid the rejoicings of angels, her whole air expressive of reverence and humility. In the lower part, the Apostles are standing round the open tomb filled with beautiful flowers, and are looking up into heaven. There are two other pictures on the same subject near it. One, originally designed by Raffaelle, but executed by Giulio Romano and Penni, is, of course, in a later style. There is more attempt at dramatic expression and variety of attitude in it, but it is not half so pleasing as the former picture. A third, something in the Peruginesque style, by Pinturicchio, is the only one that represents the Virgin kneeling. Fine picture of the Empress Helena by Paolo

Veronese, and life-like portrait of a Doge by Titian. There are some small early pictures by Raffaelle, little gems in their way, the colour so pure and bright, and the drawing so delicate, as to remind you of the pictures in an illuminated prayer book or missal, in the golden age of illuminating. In his early pictures the figures are more or less in the costume of the day; the classical draperies belong to his later style. Any one who will compare the Sposalizio at Milan with his last great work will see this at once, and I think most people will confess, that though they may not be so grand and bold as those he afterwards executed, there is something more delightful about those simple early figures.

CHAPTER XXX.

ROME (*continued*).

Saturday, *June* 21*st*.—Went to the Collegio Romano, the College of Jesuits, where I was courteously received by Padre Tongiorgi, the keeper of the Museum. The object which interested me most in that Museum, was the *Graffito*, or rude sketch made by a sharp stilus in the cement of the wall of a chamber at the south-western corner of the Palace of the Cæsars in the Palatine Hill, near the Church of S. Anastasia in the Orti Nusiner, where it was discovered by workmen making excavations in 1857, under the guidance of Padre Garrucci, and whence it was removed for security to this place. This sketch represents the figure of a man with the head of an ass; the arms are outstretched on a cross, and the feet rest on a transverse piece of wood.

On the right side of this figure, and rather

lower than it, is a man raising up his left hand with the fingers extended, and from the inscription on the sketch it is clear that he is intended to be represented in the act of adoration.

The inscription is as follows, but in ruder characters than these:—

ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟC
CΕΒΕΤΕ
ΘΕΟΝ

that is, *Alexamenos is adoring* (his) *God.* The word σέβεται is written σέβετε by a common confusion of αι and ε, which had the same sound in ancient times, as they still have in the mouths of the inhabitants of Greece at this day. The Echo in Callimachus, responding to ναιχί by ἔχει, is well known. I copied yesterday three Christian inscriptions in the Vatican in which κεῖτε stands for κεῖται, and αἰτῶν for ἐτῶν, and αἴσισεν for ἔζησεν.

This sketch and inscription are evidently from the hand of a heathen in primitive times, who had access to the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome, perhaps was an inmate of it, and reviled the religion of Christ. Alexamenos,

no doubt, was one of his comrades, a Christian, and is here held up to derision for his faith in Christ crucified.

I was informed by Padre Tongiorgi that the word *pædagogium* was found inscribed in the chamber of the Palace of the Cæsars where this sketch was discovered. Perhaps, therefore, it was a caricature drawn by one of the slaves who had the charge of the younger members of "Cæsar's household," and who designed it as a sneer on one of his fellow-slaves.

The *Christians* who dwelt at Rome in Apostolic times, were confounded in the popular mind with the *Jews*. The scoffs of the multitude against the Jews were readily applied to the Christians. The Roman historian, Tacitus, asserts that the Hebrews in their Exodus from Egypt were led to springs of water by a herd of wild *asses*, and that, on this account, they paid religious honours to that animal[1]. As Tertullian[2] observes, "Somniâstis caput *asininum Deum* nostrum esse; hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem fecit."

[1] *Tacitus*, Hist. v. 3.

[2] *Tertullian* ad Nation. i. c. 11. Apol. c. xvi.

The heathens eagerly seized the notion, and converted it into a calumny against the *Christians*, and profanely asserted, "caput asininum *Deum* esse[3]" to the Christian; and Tertullian[4] makes mention of a satirical *picture*, painted in his own day, with an inscription, "*Deus* Christianorum Onokoites[5]?"

This *Graffito* from the Palace of the Cæsars at Rome exhibits in a striking manner the contumelies to which the Gospel of Christ was exposed in early times, in the Roman Court and Capital.

The Christians were charged with adoring a man who had died on the cross. They did not deny the fact: "We preach Jesus Christ, and *Him crucified*[6]." "God forbid that I

[3] The same thing is asserted by the heathen Cæcilius, in the dialogue of *Minucius Felix*, c. ix., "audio eos turpissimæ pecudis caput asini consecratum venerari." See ibid. c. xxviii.

[4] *Tertullian*, Apol. c. xvi.

[5] Is it possible, that the act of our Lord in choosing *an ass* on which to ride in triumph to Jerusalem, and to receive the homage of the multitude, could have been abused into an occasion for giving more currency to that ribaldry?

[6] 1 Cor. ii. 2.

should glory, save in the *Cross* of Christ[7]," wrote St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles; although that Cross was to the "Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness[8]."

This *graffito* from the Palatine is, I believe, the *earliest* representation that is known to exist of the *Crucifixion*[9]. Strange it is, that it should be a caricature, and that the caricaturist should bear witness to the insults which the Gospel endured and overcame; and that the Cross of Christ, which was the laughing-stock of Rome and of the world, should, in a few years after this sketch was drawn, have dislodged the Roman Eagle from her Imperial standards, and have floated on the banners of her armies, and have been set on the diadems of her Kings!

Strange also it is, that the hand of a caricaturist should bear witness to the truth, that the primitive disciples not only confessed that Christ had suffered *death* as *man* upon the

[7] Gal. vi. 14. [8] 1 Cor. i. 23. Gal. v. 11.

[9] I was assured of this by the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, who is one of the best living authorities on all that concerns the history of early Christian Art at Rome.

cross, but should also attest the fact that they *worshipped* Him as *God!*

There is reason to believe, that the Apostle St. Paul, in his first imprisonment at Rome, which is described at the close of the Acts of the Apostles, dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Palace of the Cæsars [1]. In one of his Epistles written at that time from Rome, the Epistle to the Christians of Philippi,—which had then been recently colonized by Rome,—he says that his "bonds were manifest *in all the Palace* [2];" and he sends special greetings in that Epistle from "those of *Cæsar's household* [3]." May we not suppose that Alexamenos the Christian, who is ridiculed in this caricature, for worshipping the crucified Saviour as God, may, either directly or derivatively [4], have

[1] The Author may perhaps be allowed to refer to his note on Philippians i. 13, for evidence of this.

[2] Phil. i. 13.

[3] Phil. iv. 22.

[4] If Padre Garrucci's reasonings are correct concerning the age of the bricks of which the chamber was built, where this graffito was found, it is not earlier than the age of Adrian: see Garrucci's brochure, "Il Crocifisso Graffito in Casa dei Cesari," Roma, 1857; it contains a good fac-simile of the graffito, p. 5, and I am indebted

been brought to the knowledge and faith of Christ, by the teaching of St. Paul? How affecting are the Apostle's words in that Epistle, when placed by the side of this caricature! "Let[5] this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, Who, being in the form of *God*, thought it not robbery to be *equal with God;* but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a *servant*, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a Man, He humbled Himself, and *became obedient unto death, even unto* the *death* of the *Cross.* Wherefore God hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a Name which is above every name, that at the Name of JESUS every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue *should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.*"

I was informed that there are now about 500 students in the Collegio Romano, which

to it for other information concerning this interesting sketch.

[5] Phil. ii. 5.

is under the care of the Jesuits. This number, I suppose, includes the pupils of other colleges of Rome, who are under training for Holy Orders, and who resort to the Collegio Romano for attendance on lectures there; so that a very large proportion of the Candidates for the Ministry at Rome are more or less under the influence of the Jesuits. It is remarkable that this religious Order, which has been driven from almost all other countries in Europe, should be the most dominant at Rome. The character of its principles and teaching in Politics, as well as Theology, may be inferred from its literary organ, the "Civiltà Cattolica," which has its agents in all parts of the world, and is honoured with the Papal imprimatur.

On the 13th of this month, there was a grand display of the poetical and musical proficiency of the pupils of the Collegio, at the Church of S. Ignazio, which was magnificently illuminated for the occasion. In the presence of a large number of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, from all parts of Christendom, and an immense audience, the youthful students of the Collegio Romano

recited their compositions in various languages, with musical interludes, in honour of the Japanese Martyrs lately canonized, and of the "glory of the Vatican."

These juvenile prolusions were received with bursts of applause. Some of these exhibitions are now used as occasions for political pasquinades against the King of Italy; and verses are current, which were recited by the students of the Collegio Romano in *honour* of the *Japanese Martyrs*, in which Victor Emmanuel was compared to the Emperor Julian the Apostate;

"Quì pur si lotta contro *un Giuliano*,
Che ha d'Agno il volto, di Lupo il cor;
Ha pur l'Italia un re Sultano
Di borse e talami trionfator."

Could there be a more significant proof of the *political* design of the Canonization of the Martyrs of Japan than such effusions as this? By the side of these may be set the following, which I read inscribed on the Church of S. Ignazio;

"Viva Pio Nono
Il nostro Re,
Splendor del trono,
Cui pari non è."

Another specimen of the antagonism between the Papal Hierarchy and the Crown of Italy may be mentioned here. On the 5th of May last, when the King of Italy was at Naples, he announced his intention of visiting the Cathedral, and of worshipping there. The Archbishop of Naples was not there, and the whole body of the Canons deliberately absented themselves.

This has since been made the subject of a judicial process, (27th June,) and the members of the Chapter have been condemned by the Supreme Administrative Council of Naples to a fine, equal to the loss of one year's income, for this act of contumacious disrespect to the Sovereign.

Such unhappy bickerings as these are omens of coming evil.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ROME (*continued*).

WENT in the afternoon of June 21, to the Church and Convent of S. Carlo ai Catinari, which stands to the north-west of the Ghetto: I had a long interview there with one of the most learned men of Rome, the celebrated Barnabite Father, Carlo Vercellone. Passed through a long corridor, hung with dark portraits of members of the order, and found him in his cell, which was well stocked with folios.

The literary world is much indebted to him for the edition of the Vatican Manuscript of the Septuagint, and New Testament, which had been prepared for publication by Cardinal Mai. Padre Vercellone has published a Dissertation on the Vatican Manuscript, and on Mai's edition of it, Rome, 1860; in which he

bears a high and honourable testimony to the learning and labours of the late Cardinal.

At p. 14 of that Dissertation are some remarks on the singular fact, that before the appearance of Mai's work, the Church of Rome had *never given to the world an edition of the Greek Testament* in the city of Rome itself[1]. The learned author of the Dissertation frankly avows his regret that this was so; because, he says, "*if* Rome had published a New Testament in Greek, *that* edition must have been the *standard* edition." But may not a question be asked here? Is it probable that now, when Rome *has* at length printed a Greek Testament, *that* edition will be adopted as the model text? Will *the Roman* edition of Cardinal Mai be the *standard* edition? No, assuredly not; the learned Author of the Dissertation owns its imperfections (p. 16). And *if* the Church of Rome can give to the world standard editions of the Bible, how is it that she has never yet published an

[1] The art of Printing had been discovered for four centuries, and yet "The Mother and Mistress of all Churches" had never printed a single copy of the Gospel of Christ in its original tongue.

edition of the original *Hebrew* of the *Old* Testament?

He modestly declined any credit for his own work in the publication of the Greek Testament, and said that all that had been done was due to the influence and labour of the Cardinal. "Mai had made the 'primo passo;' and now no impediment would be raised at Rome to the publication of a *correct* edition, or even of a *fac-simile*, of this celebrated Manuscript, which was almost inaccessible to our forefathers."

Let me add here, that I was assured by the enterprising publisher of Mai's edition, M. Spithöver, that, when the times became more quiet, (would that there was a fair prospect of this!) he hoped to be able to publish the Vatican Manuscript in the same manner as the Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Bezæ have been printed in England.

Padre Vercellone is also the editor of two editions of the Vulgate: one is already completed, and consists of the text alone, in a revised form; the other is in course of publication, with critical notes and collations of MSS. He handed me the first volume, which was on

his shelves; and I turned to his note on the celebrated text, Gen. iii. 15, and observed that he there candidly avows, that the true reading of the text is *not* "Ipsa conteret caput tuum;" and therefore *that* text cannot be applied to the *Blessed Virgin*, but refers to the *seed* of the woman, which is Christ [2].

When I expressed my gratification at seeing this frank acknowledgment, which the reader may find in his notes now published [3], he replied, "We build nothing on that text," "Noi non edifichiamo nulla sopra quel testo."

I am sure that the *learned men* of Rome, such as Padre Vercellone confessedly is, do

[2] The same truth is ingenuously avowed by one of the most learned men of the Church of Rome in the present day, Monsignor Emilio Tiboni, of Brescia, in his excellent work, Il Misticismo Biblico, p. 570, Milano, 1853, where he says, "Il senso era, la promessa della vittoria che sopra il demonio avrebbe portato il *Messia*." Unhappily for the cause of sound learning, Monsignor Tiboni has been deprived of his professorship in the seminary at Brescia.

[3] As the reverend father's notes are before the public, I do not feel that I am violating that confidence, which ought to regulate private intercourse, by relating his avowal and his own explanation of it.

not venture to build any thing on that text, for the exaltation of the Blessed Virgin. But the question is, Does not the *Church of Rome*, *in* her appeals to her *people*, build a great deal upon it? Does she not allow and encourage her Preachers to do so? In fact, is not *that text* the *principal* passage of Holy Scripture to which the *Pope himself* referred in his famous decree, in which he promulgated the dogma of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Blessed Virgin in St. Peter's Church on Dec. 8, 1854[4]? and is not the Blessed Virgin "of the Immaculate Conception" represented in pictures and statues by the Church of Rome as treading under *her* feet the head of the Serpent? Is she not so represented in the engraving prefixed as a frontispiece to Passaglia's elaborate work, printed at the Propaganda at Rome, on behalf of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception? Does not therefore the Church of

[4] In which are the following words: "Sanctissima *Virgo* per Illum (i.e. Christum) venenatum caput serpentis *immaculato* pede contrivit;" and thence he proceeds to say that *she* has trodden under foot all heresy, which is a head of the serpent; "cunctas semper interemit hæreses."

Rome build a great deal on that text? And since her learned men candidly avow that the text refers to *Christ*, and not to the Virgin, does she not, in this respect, as in many others, build her own and her people's faith on an insecure foundation? Does she not build her house on the sand? And if so,—"great will be the fall thereof[5]."

Had to-day a conversation with a learned Italian divine. He said that we Englishmen were unjust to the Church of Rome in complaining that she paid so much respect to the Vulgate. "The Church of Rome," said he, "is a Latin Church, and the Vulgate is only her *Version*."

I replied that the Church of Rome in the fourth Session of the Council of Trent, had made the Vulgate to be the *standard* of Holy Scripture *for all other* Churches who *never spoke* the Latin language. And though it is true, that the Latin Vulgate was at first the *Version* of Holy Scripture for the Roman people, yet now that the Roman people have long since ceased to speak Latin, the Vulgate

[5] Matt. vii. 27.

can hardly be called a *translation* to *them*. We in England might as well call the *Anglo-Saxon* Bible *our translation*. The Scriptures were not written in Latin, but in Hebrew and Greek: *Latin* was the *mother tongue* of those who composed the Vulgate: the Vulgate itself was a *translation into* their mother tongue; and it was made by them, in order that the *people might understand the Scriptures*, which were written in Hebrew and Greek, which they *could not understand*. Therefore the Romish Latin Vulgate is itself an argument *for the* use of the *mother tongue of the people* in the public worship of God; and it is a strong argument *against* the Church of Rome, which clings to the Latin, now that Latin has ceased to be a living tongue; and it shows the wisdom of our English Reformers, who abandoned Latin in public worship and in reading the Scriptures, and adopted English in its place. A blessed thing would it be for Italy, if the Church of Rome would act in a similar way.

My friend changed his ground, and commenced a vehement attack upon us. "You have no explicit Faith."

I assured him, that "we receive all that is revealed in Holy Scripture, and all that had been deduced from Scripture by the Ancient Catholic Church, and all that was confessed by her in the three Creeds."

"But that is not enough; our Lord is ever with His Church, and she now has the same power as she had in the primitive ages."

"Yes, but *not* of inventing any thing *new; not* of *adding any* new article to the faith 'once for all delivered to the Saints.'"

"No: but she may *declare* what all are to believe; and all must receive her declarations as true."

"But the Church of *Rome adds new articles to the ancient Faith.* The Pope, in February, 1849, and again in August, 1854, by desiring all Roman Catholic Bishops to pray that he might be *enlightened* as to his future decision concerning the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and by proceeding in December, 1854, to decree that the doctrine was *thenceforth* to be believed by all, virtually owned that it had *not been* professed as an Article of Faith by the Church for eighteen centuries; and the Pope added *that* doctrine, as a new

article of Faith, in the nineteenth century after Christ. And is it not the usual language of the Papacy and Church of Rome, that in their present troubles they place their hopes especially on the intercessions of the Blessed Virgin, *because* the Pope has recently *added new lustre* to her crown, and placed a *new aureola* on her brow by the dogmatic decree of the Immaculate Conception[6]?"

"Well, but how," he asked, "do you obtain any definitions of Faith?"

"We have them from Christ Himself speaking to us in Holy Scripture interpreted by the ancient Church Universal. Whatever doctrine can be shown to us in Scripture, and to have been believed and professed by the Ancient Church universal, *that* we believe: whatever is not in Scripture, and was unknown to the ancient Church universal, *that* we reject as new; and in what concerns the doctrines of Christianity, whatever is *new*, is *false*."

"But the Church needs a *living Interpreter* of the Faith. In cases of controversy where

[6] See, for example, the language quoted in the "Civiltà Cattolica," 3rd May, 1862, p. 353.

is *your* Judge? Where is your living interpreter of the Truth? Is it a woman? Is not the Queen of England the Head of your Church?"

"No; the Kings and Queens of England do not bear that title[7]."

"But are not they Judges of Articles of Faith?"

"No; they are not Judges *of* the laws of the Church; much less, *above* the laws of the Church, or *against* them; and they can only pronounce sentence by means of their Ecclesiastical Judges, *according* to the *received Laws* of the Church of England, which are the Laws of Christ in Holy Scripture, as interpreted by the consent and usage of the ancient Catholic Church. Our Sovereigns possess no more right over the Church than was claimed by ancient Christian Emperors; they cannot perform any sacred function, but

[7] It is well known that the title "Head of the Church" was laid aside by Queen Elizabeth; she was not entitled Head of the Church, but "Supreme Governor over all persons in all causes," and the limited sense in which that title is borne, is explained in Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England.

they are bound to take care that those functions are duly discharged by those persons whose office it is to perform them."

"But how can your spiritual persons perform those functions? They have no claim to succession from lawful Bishops of the Church."

"Yes, they have; and their succession has been acknowledged even by Roman Catholic Divines [8]."

[8] It would be disingenuous to deny that considerable amendments are needed in the processes by which the Laws of the Church of England are administered in causes of Heresy; and it is much to be desired that judicious measures might be adopted for the better cognizance of such matters. The circumstances of the times call loudly and imperatively for them.

As it is the part of true wisdom to listen patiently to the objections even of the bitterest adversaries, let me set down here the words of Dr. Döllinger in his recent work on "The Church, and the Churches," p. 166:—"In the Gorham dispute, they (the Anglican Churchmen) have suffered a double defeat: first, that the question has been decided according to the opinion and in favour of the Calvinists; and that lay state officials, acting in the name of the Queen, have been recognized by almost the whole Clergy, and of course by the People, as the highest Tribunal, indeed the *only organ of the otherwise dumb English Church.*"

As may be seen in the passages quoted in Theophilus

"But they can have no lawful authority except by union with the see of St. Peter."

"How can this be shown? Even if we suppose that the Pope *is* the successor of St. Peter (which has not been proved), then we know from the Holy Spirit in Holy Scripture, that even St. Peter himself was 'resisted to the face by St. Paul [9], because he was to be blamed;' and if the successor of St. Peter separates himself from Christ, by 'teaching for *doctrines* commandments of men [1],' and will not communicate with any who do not join with him in his errors, then we know that, if we avoid those errors and cleave to the true faith, we shall be favoured by Christ, as the man in the Gospel was, who was excommunicated by the Jews [2] because he professed Christ; and if we are in communion with Christ, we hold to the Head of the Church, and are members of His body which is the blessed company of all faithful people."

He bore testimony to the learning of Eng-

Anglicanus, Part II. chap. vii. As to the Laws of Judicature in Ecclesiastical matters, in the Church of England, see there, Part III. ch. vii.

[9] Gal. ii. 11. [1] Matt. xv. 9. [2] John ix. 34.

lish Divines. "But," said he, "learning will not avail, without the aid of the Holy Spirit; and you cannot have that, except by communion with the Catholic Church" (i.e. the Church of *Rome*). "Your gifts and graces are marred by your schism. Return to the bosom of your Mother, who opens her arms to embrace you."

The preceding conversation confirmed me in a conviction, that the Church of Rome is eagerly on the alert to avail herself of any heretical tenets that may be put forth by members of the English Church, and to use them as weapons against her; and as instruments for alluring persons from the English Communion to herself.

The objections, which have recently been made against the Inspiration and Veracity of the Bible by some who hold office in the Church and Universities of England, have been seized upon with avidity by the Church of Rome, and have been made the ground of accusations against the English Church and Universities for their connivance at such impeachments of the authority of Holy Scripture.

It must be honestly avowed, and be deeply deplored, that such attacks as these upon the

Word of God are preparing a triumph for Infidelity on the one side, and for Romanism on the other.

The use that is made by the Romish Church of these unhappy writings, which have recently been put forth by persons in high places among us, ought surely to have the effect of awakening the zeal of all good men in the Church of England, and of stimulating them to waive their minor differences, and to unite with one heart in strenuous endeavours to strengthen the bands of godly discipline now so much relaxed among us, and to join with one consent in defending the oracles of God.

Those also in England who may be startled and staggered by the bold and blasphemous denials, which we now hear, of the divine origin of Holy Scripture, and may be tempted thereby to fall away to the communion of the Church of Rome as offering them shelter from such assaults, and as providing for them a harbour of peace, may be earnestly and affectionately requested to remember, that in *that* Church the Holy Scriptures are treated with contempt, which can hardly be matched by

any thing which is said or done in any other communion of Christendom, and even by the partizans of Rationalism.

The Church of Rome has placed her own traditions on a par with God's Word, and has made that "Word of none effect by those Traditions." She has put the Apocrypha on a par with the words of the Holy Ghost. She makes her own Latin Version to be the standard of Scripture. She teaches that the Scripture *derives* its authority from *herself.* She sets up the Pope as the divinely-appointed Interpreter of Scripture, and requires all to receive his perversions of it, as Scripture. Above all, she withholds the Word of God from her people, and keeps them in a state of bondage and blindness, and ignorance of Scripture. She allows her Cardinals and Bishops to apply the most disparaging language to God's Word, and to call it "defective and obscure," "a leaden rule," "a nose of wax," and by other opprobrious terms[3].

Whatever may be the sins of individual members of the Church of England—and

[3] I have substantiated these assertions in another place. Sequel of Letters to M. Gondon, Letter IV.

much certainly there is, over which we ought to mourn with sorrow and shame—yet it is not by the writings of persons *in* the Churches of England or Rome that this question is to be decided, but by the *conduct* of the *Churches themselves.* How does the Church of Rome treat the Scriptures? *That* is the point. Has she ever printed a single edition of the *Hebrew Bible?* Did she ever print an edition of the Greek Testament for more than three centuries after the invention of printing? Does she circulate the Word of God? Does she not proscribe its circulation? Does she ever read a single chapter or verse of the Bible at Rome in the ears of the people in their own tongue? Does she allow them to have Bibles? No. Does she not set the Bible at defiance in innumerable ways, in her doctrines, her polity, and her worship[1]?

Let such questions as these be answered, before she ventures to exult with triumphant scorn over a sister Church, on the ground of the wounds she is now receiving from the hands of some who ought to have been among the first to defend her.

[1] See, for instance, above, p. 156.

Let her be desired to consider—let her advocates ponder well—whether there are not remarkable signs, which show that Rome has fulfilled, and is fulfilling, some of the most solemn and awful prophecies of Holy Scripture, and bears a striking resemblance to the Jewish Church of old, which had the Scriptures, but overlaid them with her traditions; and for her punishment was blinded, and was not able to see the sense of the Scriptures, and which "fulfilled the Scriptures in condemning Him[5]" who is the Truth?

A friend, who has the best means of ascertaining the feelings of the Church of Rome at the present juncture, assures me that she is flushed and intoxicated by the recent demonstration of the Episcopal concourse at Rome; and entertains an unbounded confidence in her strength and security, and is actuated by an eager desire, and earnest resolution, to make the most strenuous efforts to maintain her own supremacy, and to crush all who resist her. She is also elated by hopes of England's conversion, which are inspired by

[5] Acts xiii. 27.

English Ecclesiastics, especially English neophytes, who are very zealous and sanguine, and have considerable influence at Rome. She is dazzled with her own temporary and partial successes, and is almost blind to her real dangers.

When the King of Babylon made a great feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine out of the holy vessels of God, and praised his gods of gold and silver,—then, in the same hour, came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote upon the wall the doom of the city; and in that night Babylon was taken, and the king was slain[6].

[6] Dan. iv. 1—5. 30.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ROME (*continued*).

Sunday, June 22nd.—Went to the English Church. After the service spent some time in what may be called a subterranean Church of ancient Christian Rome,—one of the Catacombs,—that of S. Callistus. On this, "the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread[1]," what happy and holy hours were spent here by the first believers, who heard the voices of St. Paul, St. Peter, S. Clement, and S. Ignatius! How much strength and courage was derived from the ministries of religion in these quiet chambers, in the days of trouble and persecution! How many Confessors and Martyrs went forth

[1] Acts xx. 7.

with joy from the Catacombs to face the wild beasts in the Colosseum!

There is something very interesting in the excursion from Rome to this Catacomb, which is on the right hand of the Via Appia. In your way to it, a little while before you arrive at the Arch of Drusus, and the gate of S. Sebastian, you pass the tombs of the Scipios on your left. These monuments date from the time when the dead were *buried* by the Romans, and not *burnt*.

The most ancient name that has been found here is that of L. Scipio Barbatus, who was Consul in B.C. 259, and distinguished himself in his exploits against the Carthaginian fleet, and by his attack on Corsica and Sardinia. His son was also buried here, and some other members of his family. For many centuries their tombs remained unnoticed, and it was not till A.D. 1780 that they were brought to light. Unhappily they were not allowed to remain unmolested. The irreverent curiosity and meddling activity of a heartless Archæology rifled the Sepulchre of the Scipios, and despoiled it of its venerable contents, and transferred the tombs to the halls of the

Vatican Museum, and placed some counterfeit inscriptions—records of its own unfeeling profaneness—in their stead.

This Sepulchre of the Scipios suggests many interesting reflections. One must occur to every one who visits it. The greatest names of that illustrious family are *not* recorded there: an instructive memento of the worthlessness of mere contemporary fame. "Vivorum censura difficilis,"—*ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι.* "Ingrata Patria, ossa mea non habebis," said the noblest of the Scipios,—an exile at Liternum. The next in glory to him, Scipio Africanus Minor,—he who took Carthage,—is generally supposed to have been murdered in his bed. His name was *not* found in the "Tomb of the Scipios."

Soon after you have passed the Tomb of the Scipios you arrive at a vineyard (Vigna Codini), also on your left, where are three Columbaria, or large subterranean chambers, in which are the cinerary urns, arranged as in pigeon-holes (whence the name), and containing the ashes of many of the household of the Cæsars.

An examination of the *names* which occur in

the inscriptions contained in these Columbaria, and which commemorate the persons whose ashes were committed to the urns, reveals some interesting coincidences with those which are found in the salutations of St. Paul, at the close of his Epistle to the Romans. We have here the name *Tryphæna*, a name borne by one of the Roman women who "laboured in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 12). The names *Philologus* and *Julia*, mentioned by St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 15), are also found in the Columbaria of the Imperial household. "Amplias, the beloved in the Lord," has also a namesake in one of these monuments.

Other correspondences might be mentioned [2]. Whether the names in the Columbaria belonged to any of the *same* persons as those who are mentioned in the Epistle, cannot be determined; but they seem to confirm the inference, derivable from other evidence, that the Roman Church, in its infancy, consisted in a great measure of persons of the humbler

[2] The above have been already observed by the Rev. Professor Lightfoot, in an interesting article in the "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," No. X., for March, 1857.

class, such as freedmen and slaves, and that in the great Metropolis of the world, "God *chose* the *weak* and *foolish* things to confound the *mighty* and the *wise;* and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence[3]." Having visited these Columbaria in the Vigna Codini, you proceed along the road to the Arch of Drusus, the son of Livia (afterwards wife of the Emperor Augustus), celebrated by Horace[4] for his victories in Rhœtia, the younger brother of one Emperor, Tiberius, and the father of another, Claudius, and more noble than either, though he never filled a throne.

You then come to the gate of S. Sebastian, and soon afterwards you arrive at a door on your right, which leads to a Vineyard, in which is the Catacomb of S. Callistus, or, as it was called in ancient times, "Cœmeterium Callisti."

Thus, then, in a small compass, we have a specimen of the various modes of sepulture

[3] 1 Cor. i. 27—29.

[4] Hor. Carm. iv. 4. 14.

among the Romans; first, that of *burial* in the days of the Republic, then that of *burning*, and again that of *burial*, which was restored and rendered universal by belief in the doctrines of Christianity, especially the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the temple of the human body, and of its future Resurrection to glory and immortality; doctrines which had such influence on the world, that in a few years after the age of Constantine, scarcely a single body was *burnt* within the limits of the Roman Empire.

This was one of the great social revolutions which were wrought by Christianity. It gave dignity and hopes to the *body*, which it had never enjoyed before. There is not, I believe, any one known instance of the burial of a body *within* the walls of Rome, in the Heathen times of the *republic*[5]. Intramural burial was forbidden by the XII Tables. Death was an unclean thing in the eyes of the Heathen and Jewish world. But the Grave has been sanctified by Christianity; and when the Empire

[5] That of C. Publicius Bibulus was not within the walls of the Servian City.

became Christian, the bodies of holy men were buried beneath the altars of the churches.

The Catacomb of Callistus is in a garden, as was the tomb of Him who "brought life and immortality to light" by His glorious Resurrection from the dead. In this garden, when we visited it, the flowers of summer were blooming in the sunshine in rich colours. The natural type of Christian unity, the Vine, and the emblems of sleep and resurrection, the flowers blooming from the earth, were happily combined with this peaceful funeral scene of Christian rest and hope.

"Cœmeterium *Callisti*," such was the name of this Catacomb. Probably it was so called from the Roman Bishop of that name, who sate in the Episcopal see from A.D. 218 to 223, and whose Episcopate is described in no very favourable terms in the recently recovered treatise of his contemporary, S. Hippolytus; but Callistus is now venerated as a Saint and a Martyr by the Church of Rome[6]. In the Roman Breviary he is said to have *enlarged* this *ancient* cemetery[7], (it was therefore prior

[6] See Breviarium Romanum, Oct. 14.

[7] Ibid. In Viâ Appiâ *vetus* cœmeterium ampliavit, in

to his Pontificate,) "in which many holy Priests and Martyrs are buried, and which is called from him the cemetery of Callistus."

Therefore this Catacomb carries us back to a very early age of Christianity. And who were those holy Priests and Martyrs, that were here buried? Doubtless this notice in the Breviary refers specially to one of its funeral chambers, which is now called "Cappella dei Pontefici," on account of the ancient Bishops of Rome who were entombed there.

In this Chamber we see the following inscriptions of names of Roman Bishops on separate slabs encrusted in the wall [8];

ΑΝΤΕΡΩΣ ΕΠΙ

ΦΑΒΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣ ΜΡ

that is,

ANTEROS BISHOP

FABIANUS BISHOP AND MARTYR

quo multi Sancti Sacerdotes et Martyres sepulti sunt, quodque ab eo *Callisti* cœmeterium appellatur.

[8] Fac-similes of them, very carefully executed, may be seen in Mr. Burgon's interesting Letters from Rome, pp. 157, 158.

CORNELIVS MARTYR EP

ΛΟVΚΙΣ

ΕVΤVΧΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣ

that is,

CORNELIUS MARTYR BISHOP

LUCIUS.

EUTYCHIANUS BISHOP.

They were Bishops of Rome in the following order:—

Anteros, A.D. 235.
Fabianus, A.D. 236.
Cornelius, A.D. 250.
Lucius, A.D. 252.
Eutychianus, A.D. 275.

An old Latin Register of early Roman Bishops, published by Ægidius Bucherius, specifies the *days* on which some of these Bishops died and were buried. There we read, that Fabianus suffered on the 20th of January, and was buried "in Callisti," i. e. in this Catacomb[9]. And it is also stated there,

[9] See the authorities in Bp. Pearson's Opera Postuma, ed. Churton, vol. ii. pp. 314. 431.

that Lucius was buried "in Callisti" on the 5th March, (he is *not* there designated as a *Martyr*,) and that Eutychianus was buried on the 8th December "in Callisti."

These are interesting coincidences between the records in the ancient Register, and those now visible in the Catacomb; and it may be observed also, as another point of approximation, that Fabianus is said to have been the *first* Roman Bishop, who appointed subdeacons to superintend the notaries, who collected the "acts and sufferings" of the Martyrs.

It seems that the framer of that Register had no specific record of the *day* of the death of *any* Roman Martyr among the Bishops before Fabianus, nor of any other Roman Bishop (not a Martyr) before Lucius.

As to the Episcopal names now visible in this Catacomb, it may be observed, that (with one exception) they are all in *Greek*. The earliest writers of any eminence in the Western Church were not from Italy, but from Africa; Tertullian and Cyprian. We hear of no *Roman* Bishop celebrated for learning, and writing in *Latin*, before the age of Leo I., who was Bishop of Rome in A.D. 440.

It is a remarkable coincidence, that *Cornelius* is the only Bishop whose name is written in Latin in this Catacomb, and we have letters of *Cornelius* still extant, in reply to S. Cyprian, written in *Latin*, and the name *Cornelius* itself is of pure Latin origin: under him the Church of Rome began to put off its Greek dress, and to assume a more Latin character. These circumstances tally with the peculiarity of the inscription, and confirm its genuineness.

Next we may notice the *simplicity* of these inscriptions. There is no parade of earthly titles, or worldly dignity. These *primitive Popes* are recorded simply as *Bishops*;. and one of them has not even *that* title. Not one of these early Roman Bishops is designated by the high-sounding and heathenish title of "PONTIFEX MAXIMUS," which now meets the eye in almost every corner of modern Rome.

I believe that these inscriptions are *contemporaneous* with the persons whom they record, and I was glad to find from the distinguished Christian Archæologist, Cavaliere De Rossi, that he is of the same opinion. If some of them are of rather later date, they would

serve to show even still more strongly, that the temper of the Roman Bishops of the first three centuries, and of their intimate friends, was of a meek and humble character, which may be exemplary to some of their successors in modern days.

Another remark here. Only two of these early Bishops are designated in this Catacomb as *Martyrs*, Fabianus and Cornelius. But the *modern* Martyrologists of the Roman Church give the title of Martyr to Anteros [1], and also to Fabianus [2]. *If* they had been really Martyrs, would they not have been commemorated as such on their epitaphs? Is there not here a confirmation of the remark of our learned English divine, Bishop Pearson, who has written so well on the early history of the Bishops of Rome?—"the common opinion, that most of the earliest Bishops of Rome were Martyrs, is erroneous;" "recepta de primis Romæ Episcopis plerisque Martyribus sententia erronea est [3]." And yet many modern

[1] See Tillemont, Mém. Hist. Eccl. iii. p. 121.

[2] Ibid. p. 159.

[3] Bp. Pearson's Dissert. Post. i. c. iv. p. 311, ed. Churton. Bp. Pearson says, that if we consult the most

Roman Catholic writers still cling to that notion. In one of the best modern books of travel in Italy, we read that "all the *first thirty Popes* were *Martyrs*[4]!"

Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus, who died in a time *of peace*, and not of persecution, and preceded Anteros in the See of Rome by a few years, are now venerated at Rome as Saints and Martyrs[5]. But there is no trustworthy ancient evidence to justify that veneration; and some there is, which contravenes it[6].

It is an invidious thing, to appear to dis-

ancient writers, we find no record of any Martyr among those Bishops before Telesphorus, (A.D. 122,) nor after him till Pontianus, A.D. 236; but in modern writings of the Roman Catholic Church, *all* the Popes before Telesphorus are called Martyrs.

[4] M. Valéry, Voyages en Italie, p. 522, ed. Bruxelles, 1835, "les *trente* premiers de ces Pontifes furent *tous Martyrs*."

[5] See the Roman *Breviary*, Aug. 26, and Oct. 14, on which day the *Diario Romano* notes, that "S. Callisto, Papa e Martire, alla sua chiesa in S. Maria in Trastevere, ove ripose il suo corpo, e in Sebastiano fuori le mura si conserva il suo capo."

[6] E. g. the character given of them by their contemporary S. Hippolytus, in the work referred to above, pp. 110—113.

parage the reputation of the departed. But the cause of Truth is more precious than the names of men; and the palms and crowns of Martyrdom lose their value, if they are bestowed indiscriminately on those who do not deserve them. Modern Hagiology has done much injury to the Saints, and modern Martyrologies have impaired the dignity of the Martyrs, by associating them with those who have little claim to that character. Where *all* are called Saints and Martyrs, Sanctity and Martyrdom are depreciated; and the History of the Christian Church is degraded to the level of Heathen Mythology. It is therefore due to the memory of the genuine Saints and Martyrs, to challenge the claims of those who without sufficient cause are placed on a par with them.

Some of the most extraordinary frauds that have been palmed upon a credulous world in modern times have derived their materials from the Catacombs of Rome. Let me mention one, because it seems to have attracted little attention; and because it is very remarkable on account of the eminent and illustrious personages concerned in it, and because it was

transacted with great pomp and display in a great City, in our own days, which are commonly supposed to be distinguished by critical discernment, shrewdness, and intelligence.

A short time ago a marble slab was discovered in one of the Roman Catacombs near the Via Salaria[7]. It was as follows:—

AURELIÆ THEUDOSIÆ
BENIGNISSIMÆ ET
INCOMPARABILI FEMINÆ
AURELIUS OPTATUS
CONJUGI INNOCENTISSIMÆ
DEPOS. PR. KAL. DEC.
NAT. AMBIANA
B. M. F.

That is—

To Aurelia Theudosia,
A most benign
And incomparable Woman,
Aurelius Optatus
To his most blameless Wife,
Buried 30th November,
NAT. AMBIANA,
To her, well-deserving, he placed this monument.

[7] Of which a description may be seen in Mr. Murray's excellent Handbook for Rome, p. 325, 6th ed., 1862.

I have left the words NAT. AMBIANA untranslated, because they contain the whole question at issue. What do they mean? The "Congregation of Relics" at Rome examined the inscription: they found some relics near it; and after solemn deliberation, they pronounced a judicial sentence, that the letters "Nat. Ambiana" are an abbreviation for "nata Ambiana," and mean "*born at Amiens;*" and that Theudosia was a Christian, a holy woman, a Martyr, and is to be venerated as such.

The Bishop of Rome himself—Pope Pius IX. —confirmed this sentence; and ordered that the name of *Theudosia* should be henceforth added as a *Saint* to the Calendar of the Church of Amiens, and that Masses should be said in her honour in all the Parishes of the Diocese, and that she should be venerated at an annual festival, to be instituted in her honour.

Nor was this all. The Bishop of Amiens procured those supposed relics, and transported them to his Cathedral: and their reception there, on Oct. 12, 1853, was honoured by an immense concourse of people, and Roman Catholic Dignitaries, Cardinals, Archbishops,

and Bishops, twenty-eight in number, at the head of whom was Cardinal Wiseman, "*Archbishop of Westminster*," who preached the first sermon on the occasion.

The first anniversary of the festival,—Thursday, Oct. 12, 1854,—was honoured by the presence of the Emperor Napoleon III., and of the Empress Eugénie, attended by M. Fortoul, Minister of *Public Instruction*, and by Monsignor Sacconi, the *Papal Nuncio* in France, and by Monseigneur Gillies, "*Archbishop of Edinburgh*," who preached the sermon in honour of the supposed Martyr and Saint of Amiens.

A Chapel also was erected to her honour, in the Cathedral at Amiens, and a Latin inscription was there placed, which records, that on the 28th day of October, 1853, "the Emperor Napoleon III., and the Empress Eugénie, came thither on a pilgrimage ('piâ peregrinatione'), and gave a contribution to the adornment of the said Chapel."

Here is a remarkable specimen of that infatuated effrontery, and confident presumption, with which the Church of Rome speculates on the ignorance and credulity of her people, and

with which she builds up her fabric of religious belief and worship.

Almost all critical scholars know that *Nat. Ambiana* is *not* to be explained "nata Ambiana," "born at Amiens," (a mere solecism,) but "*natione* Ambiana," i. e. an "Ambian by nation." And all students of Ancient History and Geography are aware that Amiens was *not* called "Ambianum" in the days of the Martyrs, but Samanobriva; and that it derived its name, at a later time, from the nation of the *Ambiani*, who inhabited the large tract of territory in which Samanobriva was situated.

There is no evidence that Theudosia was a Saint; none, that she was a Martyr; none, that she was born at Amiens; and yet the self-styled Infallible Vicar of Christ, the Supreme Head of the Church, has issued a Decree that her name is to be added to the Calendar, and that she is to be worshipped as "a holy patroness" of the City of Amiens; and Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops thronged to that city, and lent their aid to the propagation of this miserable fraud; and even imperial Personages were to be made the dupes and victims of this shameless imposture. And all

this was done—not in the darkness of the middle ages, but in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century!

Are we to see here a fulfilment of the Prophecy of Holy Scripture, that "because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved, therefore God shall send them a *strong delusion*, that they should *believe a lie*" (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11)? .... But to return.

The wilderness of Rome begins before you pass through its gates. In the vineyard which contains the Columbarium of the household of the Cæsars just mentioned, there is a pretty villa, and the keeper of the garden who showed us the Columbarium informed us that he could not venture to pass a night in the villa at this season, for fear of the malaria fever. In the Campagna the malaria reigns in undisputed dominion over the soil. Can Rome become the Capital of Italy? Nature seems to say, No. The inveterate malaria of centuries, the mysterious miasma brooding over the sulphureous springs and brooks of the dreary desert around it seem to say, No. We cannot tell what modern science and cultivation may

achieve. But is there not a power stronger than that of human armies and mechanical skill? Is it the will of God that Rome should be the capital of Italy? The King of Italy may occupy Rome; he may be crowned on the Capitol. But can any human power revive the spirit within, and make Rome again the Metropolis of Italy? Time will show. Alexander the Great endeavoured to make Babylon the capital of his empire; but though he had conquered Babylon and taken it, he could not restore it to its former self. God willed it otherwise, and had declared that will by the voice of prophecy. . . . . May it not be so with Rome?

We returned home through the Ghetto, or Jews' quarter. The invidious restrictions of former times have now been much relaxed. The gate which once separated this quarter no longer appears. The inhabitants were sitting in their shops, busy at their trade, on this the Christian Sunday; many of them work for the Churches of Rome in making hangings, &c.

There is something inexpressibly mournful

in a visit to this quarter, especially on a Sunday. The great doctrine of our Lord's Resurrection, preached at Rome by St. Paul, finds no response here. Here in a small compass we see Ezekiel's Valley of dry bones. "Son of Man, can these bones live[8]? Lord, Thou knowest; and He said unto me, These dry bones are the house of Israel, and I will put My Spirit into them, and they shall live." St. Paul himself, writing to this City[9], assures us that they *will* live; and how? By the Spirit of God, as Ezekiel declares, they can and will live[1]; and another prophet affirms that "after many days the Children of Israel shall return, and seek the Lord their God[2];" and another says, "I will pour upon the house of David the spirit of grace and supplications, and they shall look on Me whom they have pierced[3]."

Perhaps, with reverence we may add, this great and glorious consummation will be brought about through the intermediate

[8] See Ezek. xxxvii. 3—14.
[9] Rom. xi. 13. 15. 25—27.
[1] Ezek. xxxvii. 5—14.
[2] Hosea iii. 5.
[3] Zech. xii. 10.

agency of some great shock to the temporal and spiritual power of the *City and See of Rome.*

The Church of Rome, as *she now is, cannot convert the Jews;* and she shows in this, as in many other ways, that she is *not* the true Church of God. For, it is God's will that the Jews should be converted by the Church's ministry, and if a Church cannot do God's will, she is not a faithful Church. *Rome cannot convert the Jews.* No; she *hinders* their conversion, first, by her creature-worship, which the Jews, having suffered so severely at Babylon for their own idolatry, now abhor and detest. And, therefore, the recent promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, by which the Blessed Virgin was almost deified, has raised another obstacle to the conversion of the Jews by the Church of Rome. And, next, she hinders the conversion of the Jews by altering the Hebrew Canon of Holy Scripture (which Christ Himself approved), and by placing the Apocrypha on a level with the books of Moses and the Prophets.

The Jews used to call *Rome* by the name

of *Edom*, as an enemy to Jerusalem; and the Jews have an old proverb, that "when *Edom*" (by which they mean *Rome*) "is laid waste, *then* will come the redemption of Israel[4]." May it not be the design of Almighty God, to overrule the present troubles in Italy, which are shaking the foundations of the Temporal and Spiritual power of the Papacy, for some blessed dispensation to His own ancient people, the Jews? May not the hindrances to their conversion be removed by His judicial visitations on Rome, and a door be opened to the reception of the Jews into the spiritual Sion, the Church of Christ?

At the evening service in the English Church, the following words of the Great "Hebrew of the Hebrews," and Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, who preached and suffered Martyrdom in this City, occurred in the second Lesson "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; for in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this

[4] Rabbi Kimchi on Obadiah, and on Isaiah xxiv.

rule, *peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God*[5]*!*"

May that Apostolic benediction descend in God's own time, in all its spiritual fulness, on the Apostle's brethren according to the flesh, to whose fathers he preached the Gospel,—the inhabitants of the Roman Ghetto!

Gal. vi. 14—16.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ROME (*continued*).

Monday, 23*rd June*.—Read the strictures of the "Giornale di Roma," or official paper of the Papacy, on the Address of the Italian Parliament to the King, on the 15th, in opposition to the "Indirizzo" of the nearly 300 Bishops to the Pope at Rome, on the 9th of June, which has been already described[1].

The Giornale di Roma calls the Parliamentary Address a "ridicolo documento" and a "puerile rhapsody," a "miserabile elucubrazione."

Certainly it must be confessed, that if we may judge from this specimen, Italian Statesmen and Diplomatists are hardly as yet a match for the Papacy in Ecclesiastical matters.

[1] See above, pp. 7 and 21.

Their rejoinder seems to be a feeble one, a "telum imbelle sine ictu." They do not seem to realize the true strength of their own cause. This is not to be wondered at; indeed it would be surprising if it were otherwise. The Legislators of Italy have been engaged with military and financial questions, and have not yet had leisure to examine the true principles of Ancient Catholicity; their position is a new one, and they are not yet settled in their principles. Some of them are spell-bound by a superstitious reverence for the Roman Canon Law, and have not yet discovered the hollowness and unsoundness of its foundation; others are endeavouring to encounter the Papacy with Erastian enactments, which place the Pope and the Papal Hierarchy in a position that gives them the great advantage of seeming to be Martyrs, and which enable them to protest with energy against their opponents as persecutors of the Church.

Let us look at the Address of the Turin Parliament to the King,—

"INDIRIZZO DELLA CAMERA AL RE.

"SIRE!—*Vescovi quasi tutti stranieri all' Italia*, raccolti a Roma per una solennità re-

ligiosa, lanciarono contro la patria nostra contumelie rese più gravi dalla negazione del nostro diritto nazionale, e dall' invocazione della violenza straniera . . . . Mentre *prelati stranieri*, immemori della natura tutta religiosa e spirituale del loro augusto ministero, affermano tanto solennemente un voto di riazione politica; mentre dai luoghi governati a nome del pontefice uomini scellerati portano la desolazione nelle provincie meridionali del regno, l' Europa dovrà pure convincersi che la vostra autorità, o Sire, e quella delle leggi del libero popolo, a cui è gloria avervi a capo, possono solo dare pacifico assetto alle cose di Roma, liberando l' Italia e l' Europa da quella confusione di poteri e da quel conflitto che conturba le coscienze e mette in pericolo la pace del mondo."

This Indirizzo of the Parliament to the King alleges that the address of the Bishops to the Pope is of no weight, because it comes from "Vescovi stranieri," from *Bishops foreign to Italy*. But with due deference it might be asked, May not the Pope reply to the Parliament of Italy, "Yes, they were strangers, because *you prevented the Bishops of Italy*

from going to Rome?" No less than sixty-three Archbishops and Bishops of the kingdom of Naples have sent an address (dated 6th April, 1862) to the Pope, in which they proclaim their adhesion to his declarations concerning the temporal power; and the Neapolitan Episcopate, and many Archbishops and Bishops of the provinces of Tuscany, Umbria, and Turin, have expressed their regret at being prohibited by the Italian Government from being present at the Canonization; and the Neapolitan Bishops assure the Pope that though "absent in body, they will be with him in spirit." Their addresses may be seen in the Civiltà Cattolica for June, pp. 746—753.

Since that time, sixty-eight Bishops of the Neapolitan provinces have put forth a Pastoral, in which they declare their entire assent to the Papal Allocution; and pronounce a sentence of censure and condemnation upon every clerical Society "di mutuo soccorso," and on the Journal published at Naples, entitled the *Colonna di Fuoco*, which is the organ of those Societies.

The reply of that literary organ to the Epis-

copal condemnation is very significant: "Let all the world know, that the Priests who are members of this Association, and among them the writers in the *Colonna di Fuoco*, which is their organ, profess their belief in the *Old and New Testament, and in primitive tradition, and in the doctrine of the holy Fathers of the Church.* Let the world know, that it is the desire of these Priests that the Church should *return to her primitive sanctity*, according to which the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, may be the first among Bishops in humility, charity, and learning. Let the world know, that these Priests desire that the Pope may be chosen, as in primitive times, on account of his eminence in holiness, and not by intrigues of courts; and that Bishops and Cardinals may not be appointed by arbitrary rulers on account of services rendered to them, to the damage of the People. Let the world know, that these Priests desire that the scandal may cease of an enslaved and degraded Clergy; and that, while Cardinals and Bishops live in luxury, the Priesthood may not be forced to earn their livelihood by saying masses for a franc apiece, or to serve a campo-santo for a

taper or ten sous. They desire that the traffic in Sacraments may cease; and that eternal life may not be made a merchandise by Indulgences set up for sale at fixed prices."

"They desire that the enemies of the Church may not derive arguments against the Catholic Clergy, from its proverbial ignorance, or from the scandals of an evil life; by which the faith of the people is being destroyed, and moral corruption is assuming a gigantic magnitude."

"This is what these Priests desire; and unhappily this is *not* desired—or at least is not promoted at present—by the *Episcopate of Italy*[2]."

Here is another proof, that if there is to be any Reformation, temporal or spiritual, in the Italian Church, it must begin with measures which would *modify the character and condition of the Episcopate.* All the Bishops of Italy have been appointed under Papal influence, and are bound to the Papacy by oaths of vassalage. No Reformation can be anticipated in Italy, till elections to Bishoprics are

[2] The original of this remonstrance may be seen in No. 100 of the "*Colonna.*"

free; and till the oath which they now take to the Pope, and which is a mediæval usurpation, is abolished.

But to return. May not therefore the Pope and his partizans reply to the Turin Parliament, "The Bishops at the Canonization *were* foreigners; and why? because you hindered the Bishops of *Italy* from being present. But they were present in spirit, though not in person; as they themselves have declared. Here then is an evidence of your unjust and tyrannical oppression of the Church. This is what is condemned in the Papal Allocution itself. Your plea, therefore, that 'the Bishops at Rome were *foreigners*,' recoils upon yourselves; it is a strong argument against you."

Instead, therefore, of resorting to such an allegation as this, might not the Italian Parliament have required the Bishop of Rome to prove from the Scriptures and the practice of the primitive Church, that he *has authority to command Bishops to quit their own Dioceses, and to leave the care of their own flocks at Whitsuntide*—when they ought to be holding Ordinations and Confirmations in their Ca-

thedrals, and in other Churches, and to be preaching the Gospel to the People? Might not the Italian Parliament have called upon the Bishop of Rome to show from Holy Scripture and the Ancient Fathers of the Church, that he has the right of summoning other Bishops to attend him at the Vatican for the purpose, as he professed, of helping him to canonize some Martyrs who died 260 years ago; or rather in order (as the world knows, and the Bishops declared) of helping him to maintain the *temporal power of the Papacy*, and to concert the best measures for resisting the desires and designs of the King and People of Italy? And might not the Parliament of Italy have called upon the Bishop of Rome to show, if he is able, that Victor Emmanuel is *not* King of Italy? Is not the test which our Blessed Lord applied in the Gospel applicable in this case[3]? Is not the King's coin current in Italy? Is he not acknowledged to be King even by his adversaries, for example, by the Bishops of Italy, who circulate his coin, and

[3] Matt. xxii. 19. Mark xii. 15. Luke xx. 23.

use it for their own traffic? And further, according to Holy Scripture, ought not "every soul" (be it of a Bishop or a Layman, as S. Chrysostom expounds the passage) to "be subject to the higher powers[4]" in all things not contrary to God's Law? and is it not the duty of a Christian Sovereign to watch over the welfare of his People, and to take care that they are not deprived of their rights, spiritual as well as temporal, and to see that all orders of men within his dominions do the duties of their respective offices? And, therefore, would the King of Italy have done his duty to God and his People, *if* he had allowed the Bishops of his Kingdom to leave[5] their own flocks

[4] Rom. xiii. 1.

[5] The Italian Parliament seems to have shown some irresolution in this matter. At first the Government did *not* venture to forbid the Italian Bishops to go to Rome, but said that they would be liable to penalties if they committed any offence there against the State. (See the Prime Minister's reply in Parliament, 15th March, 1862.) But by a letter of 26th April to the Archbishop of Saluzzo the Government declared its determination not to grant any Passports to Bishops of Italy purposing to go to Rome for the Canonization; and this refusal was

at Whitsuntide[6], in order to wait upon the Pope, and to concert measures with him for stirring up disaffection in Italy, and for exciting insurrection against the authority of the Crown?

These are questions which are now forcing themselves upon the consideration of the Statesmen of Italy.

The Republic of Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries derived great benefit from the learning and wisdom of Fra Paolo Sarpi, in its conflicts with the Roman See. Are there not some Sarpis at Turin? Let

based on the ground that it would be a "viaggio in generale avversato dalla pubblica opinione."

[6] The tone in which the Church of Rome speaks of Victor Emmanuel, and of his act in restraining the Bishops of Italy from going to Rome at Whitsuntide, deserves serious attention. Cardinal Wiseman says, p. 18 of his Reply to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Westminster, Aug. 5, 1862:—"It was foreseen (by the Pope) that the *iron hand which gripes the Church* in that country (Italy) under pretence of political suspicions, would *restrain by violence* any access of its members to their acknowledged Head." The Pope also himself in his Allocution expresses similar sentiments, though in milder terms.

the ancient laws and usages of the Christian Church be examined and revived; and then —but not 'till then—will the Parliament of Turin be able to cope with the Papacy; and the Kingdom of Italy will be established on the solid foundation of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ROME (*continued*).

Monday, June 23rd.—Went to the Police Office, Monte Citorio: saw a decree of the Inquisition, posted on the gates, against a Milanese Priest for two books against the Temporal Power.

Went thence to the Vatican Library, to examine the celebrated Vatican MS. of the Bible. The Librarian was very courteous, and informed me that I might inspect it without reserve or restriction. I found that a learned person, Professor Müller of Padua, was then engaged upon it; and he was obliging enough to promise to communicate the result of his collations. He said that Tischendorf is often in error, when he asserts that Vercellone is wrong in his readings of the MS., and pointed out numerous passages in the Codex

where this is the case. It is due to the present keepers of the Vatican Library to say, that, as far as my own experience goes, the most free access is now given to this famous Manuscript; and it is very desirable that advantage should be taken of the present opportunity for giving a fac-simile of it to the world. I verified Mr. Burgon's important observation[1] on the *blank* column—the *only* one in the MS.—left at the end of the eighth verse of the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark.

That blank seems to indicate, that in the transcriber's judgment something ought to be *supplied* there, and that the *supplement* would fill a considerable space: so that though this MS. *omits* the last twelve verses, yet it is not to be cited as an authority *for* their omission, but rather *against* it.

Called on the Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi, Palazzo Bolognetti, Piazza del Gesù; very courteous and obliging. The first volume of his learned work of Ancient Christian Inscriptions, lately published, was lying on the table. It will bear the same relation to the Ancient Literature of Christianity, that the

[1] Letters from Rome, p. 33.

celebrated work of Boeckh does to that of Heathendom. It will consist of six folio volumes. Happily, the learned Archæologist has youth and vigour for the work. He has examined 11,000 surviving Christian Inscriptions, and has selected those sepulchral ones which have sure chronological data; and has arranged them as nearly as possible in their proper order of year, month, and day, from the date of the earliest known Inscriptions of that kind, which belong to A.D. 71. They will form a continuous series to the end of the fifth century.

He divides the Christian Inscriptions into two great classes; first, those which belong to "*Roma Subterranea*"—the Rome of the Catacombs,—next, those which belong to what may be called "*Roma subdialis,*" the Rome in the open air. The former are most numerous in the times of persecution; after A.D. 375 the latter surpass the former, which become more and more rare, and at last disappear in the fifth century.

It hence appears, that the relative numbers of these two classes of Inscriptions may, in some degree, serve as an index of the condi-

tion of the Church at the several periods respectively to which they belong.

Besides this, the more ancient the Inscriptions are, the more they are distinguished by brevity and artlessness, and generally by the simple rudeness of the characters in which they are engraved. No eulogies of the departed appear in the earliest Inscriptions, scarcely a single record of the circumstances of his life, or of the year of his death. It was enough for his surviving relatives to remember that he had *died in Christ*, and therefore had now *begun* to *live*, and was *in peace*. Life to them was a mere transitory thing, a brief pilgrimage; and in days of persecution how soon was it over! They had no time to engrave long epitaphs on the tombs of their friends: they conveyed their bodies to the crypts in the Catacombs, left a short exclamation of Christian love and hope inscribed on their graves, and then departed to engage in similar conflicts for the faith—to live the life of Christian Confessors, and, if need were, to die a Martyr's death.

Cav. De Rossi, as was before mentioned, is of opinion that the Inscriptions on the

graves of the early Bishops of Rome in the Catacomb of Callistus are contemporary with those Bishops; and he also stated to me his belief that the *Graffito* from the Palatine exhibits the earliest extant representation of the Crucifixion; and that no Christian representation of our Lord as crucified is extant of an earlier date than the sixth century.

Went in the evening to the Palatine hill, and spent some time in exploring the ruins of the Palace of the Cæsars. Here formerly stood

> "The imperial Palace; compass huge, and high
> The structure; skill of noblest Architects,
> With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
> Turrets and terraces[2]."

A summer evening, with its soft light gradually fading away, is the best and most appropriate time for wandering about and meditating among these vast remains of imperial grandeur. The shrubs and wild plants, now in their full beauty, which cluster about the arches, and hang in natural festoons over

[2] Milton's Paradise Regained, Book iv. 50.

the chambers of this ruined Palace,—once tenanted by the lords of the world,—shed upon them a quiet grace. It seems as if Nature herself sympathized with them in their decay, and was scattering funeral garlands on their graves. Almost every thing connected with this pile of buildings is in ruins, except some of the literary works once stored in its Palatine Library. The poems of its Virgils and Horaces suffer no decay.

Horace's prophecy is more than verified,

> "Non omnis moriar; multaque pars mei
> Vitabit Libitinam. Usque ego posterâ
> Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
> Scandet cum tacitâ virgine Pontifex[3]."

The Priest no longer mounts the Capitol. The Capitol and Palatine are in ruins. But his poems live in unimpaired freshness and beauty. How much more of vitality is there in the works of the human mind, than in those of mechanism and matter!

In some of the chambers lately excavated of the Palatine are rude drawings of horses and soldiers in armour sketched on the hard stucco;

[3] Horat. Carm. iii. 30. 6.

and several scraps of sentences in Latin, and inscriptions of names are legible; some in Greek letters, traced with a sharp stylus, like those which were copied by me at Pompeii thirty years ago, and were first published under the title of "Inscriptiones Pompeianæ[4]." I copied the following here:

Ο ΝΑΥΤΗC
ΑΓΑΘΙΩΝ
ΑCΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΟ [ΤΟC]
ANTIGONVS

It was in the wall of one of these chambers that the Graffito described above[5] was found.

What strange contrasts meet us in Rome! Here beneath the site of the Palace of the Cæsars, to the west of it, is the valley in which is the outline of the Circus Maximus; and close to it rises a tall chimney, above some dark-looking buildings; these are the Gasworks, under the management of an enterprising English director, Mr. Shepherd. The Romans have a story, that on a recent

[4] See also the interesting French work of Padre Garrucci, Graffiti de Pompéi. Paris, 1859.

[5] See above, pp. 142—146.

occasion the supply of coals ran short, from some mishap to the cargo, and the Pope was in alarm, lest, by the failure of the gas, the city might be plunged in obscurity; and it occurred to him that it was a hazardous thing to allow one person, a stranger, an Englishman, to have the power of keeping Rome in the dark. He was, it is said, satisfied that under Mr. Shepherd's excellent management there was no danger that this power would be abused. But the anxious inquiries which were made from the Vatican gave occasion to the Roman wits to say,—who are always ready with a joke on their own Ecclesiastical affairs,—"that the Pope felt jealous of Mr. Shepherd, and did not like that any other person" (whether they said, any other '*pastore*,' I do not know) "should have the power of keeping Rome in the dark—besides himself."

Went in the evening along the banks of the Tiber to Monte Testaccio, and the Pyramid of C. Cestius, and the English Cemetery, and to the magnificent Church of S. Paolo "fuori le mura," now raised up from the ashes to which it was reduced by the fire in 1823; a splendid temple in the wilderness, and a

striking proof of the power of the Church of Rome at the present day. The four columns of its baldacchino, which are of oriental alabaster, were gifts from the Viceroy of Egypt. Some of the granite columns of the nave were, I believe, presented by the Emperor of Austria; and I was informed by a friend, that among them is that self-same column which is the subject of a sonnet by the late Poet Laureate, entitled, "On the Column intended by Buonaparte for a triumphal edifice at Milan, now lying by the wayside of the Simplon Pass[6]." Strange metamorphosis! that a pillar designed to minister to the ambition of an earthly Conqueror, who deluged Europe with blood, and laid it waste with fire and sword, but was suddenly arrested in his ambitious career of carnage, and ended his days in darkness and exile, should now be subservient to the memory of the great Apostle, St. Paul, who marched in a glorious campaign from East to West, subduing kingdoms to the mild sway of the Cross, and dispensing inestimable benefits to those who were subdued by him, and whose

[6] W. Wordsworth, Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, xxix.

light went down in the glorious sunset of Martyrdom near this spot, and whose name is written in heaven, and lives for ever in the heart of the world.

From this Church we turned aside to the Appian Way, and passed the Tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and the ruined fortress which carries us back to the 14th century, the age of Rienzi, the friend of Petrarch, who endeavoured to do what has been recently proposed in our own days by Gioberti, the late Prime Minister of Carlo Alberto, and even by Napoleon III. at the Peace of Villafranca, viz. to make Rome the head of an Italian Confederacy. Rienzi summoned Pope Clement VI. from Avignon, and commanded him to reside at Rome.

His fall was almost as rapid as his rise; but his history remains as a record of the hopes of many generous spirits in Rome and Italy in those days. Perhaps it may not be without its influence at the present time.

We walked on the original pavement—now laid bare—of the Appian Way; perhaps on some of the stones which were trodden by St. Paul, as he came with the brethren

"from Appii Forum and the Three Taverns[7]" to Rome, on his first visit to that city 1800 years ago.

The Campagna was sleeping in the still soft light of the evening sun: we met only a single carriage in the way, and the ancient Tombs skirting the road, the funeral monuments of generations long past, and the broken arches of the ruined Aqueducts of brick, which stretch in long lines across the Campagna, and which once flowed with sparkling streams of fresh water, gushing forth from the mountain springs, were in harmony with the stillness of the scene. They suggested many reflections on the history of bygone days, especially of the age in which the Apostle St. Paul,—attended by his faithful fellow-labourer, the holy Evangelist, St. Luke, and other dear friends,—passed this way, when this great thoroughfare was thronged with travellers, perhaps by Roman legions, or with the trains and equipages of Ambassadors from foreign lands, or of Prætors and Proconsuls returning from their provinces, as nobly described by Milton[8]—

[7] Acts xxviii. 15. [8] Paradise Regained, Book iv. 61.

"Thence to the Gates cast round thine eyes, and see
What conflux issuing forth or entering in;
Prætors, Proconsuls, to their Provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian Road.
* * * *
From the Asian kings and Parthian among these,
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle, Taprobané,
Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west."

To which may be added George Dyer's description [9].

"Those ancient Roads,
With tombs high verged, the solemn paths of Fame,
Deserve they not regard? o'er whose broad flints
Such crowds have roll'd, so many storms of war,
So many pomps, so many wond'ring realms;
Yet still, through mountain pierc'd, o'er valleys rais'd,
In even state to distant seas around
They stretch their pavements."

All the glory which they witnessed has passed away, but St. Paul's work remains; that work which he was then doing, as the great

[9] Ruins of Rome, p. 32.

Pioneer of the Gospel, the Apostolic Road-maker of an Appian Way for the Prince of Peace; a work which was heeded by none of the noble, the great, and the powerful who travelled then on the Appian Way. But *that* Apostolic Road remains,—it is a living, a growing Road, branching ever into new lands, and opening the way to new conquests; and it is much more enduring than the solid volcanic blocks of the pavement of this great "Queen of Roads;" for it is the Road which was made by the power of Him who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life[1]," and it leads to the "Eternal City," "the City which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God[2]."

[1] John xiv. 6. [2] Heb. xi. 10.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ROME (*continued*).

Tuesday, June 24th. St. John the Baptist's Day.—After the service at the English Church, went to St. John Lateran. This is a great day there. The nave was lined with soldiers keeping a clear space between their two files, for access to the altar. Beyond the altar, in the chancel were Cardinals in splendid attire, ranged on each side, and in the apse was the Pope, seated on his throne.

During the ceremonial the attendants of the Pope were busily employed in shifting his mitre,—taking it off, and then putting it on again,—and in arranging his dress as he rose, or sat down; an indecorous process, which seemed like the fickle sport of children at play, when they dress up and undress their dolls.

The body of this magnificent Church was

thronged with people, while the Mass was going on, and the sermon was being preached; which was done in the chancel of the Church where the Pope and Cardinals were sitting, so that comparatively very few of the congregation could hear and see.

The people were walking up and down the church, and gossiping with their neighbours, with no semblance of reverence, except when the mass-bell gave the signal of the consecration of the host, and then they all suddenly dropped down on their knees to adore the real presence, as if they were the most devout people in the world. But soon they started up again on their feet, and began to talk and amuse themselves as before.

Is it uncharitable to say, that these sudden transitions from irreverence to acts of devotion, and from acts of devotion to irreverence, make the irreverence itself still more irreverent: and that the acts of devotion, which are followed immediately by familiar levity, betray themselves to be mere mechanical movements of a sort of regimental drill; and therefore appear to be little better than acts of formal hypocrisy?

At the close of the service the Pope was raised on his "sedia gestatoria" on men's shoulders, and was escorted by the bearers of his peacock-plumed fans, one on each side, and was carried down the church, the people kneeling as he passed, to receive his benediction; the Cardinals followed, each with his train twisted up and borne by an attendant.

What a glorious occasion was this for producing a religious impression on the hearts and souls of the people! This church is one of the largest and noblest in Christendom, admirably adapted for hearing and seeing. And how was the occasion used? The service, which was three hours long, was in a language which scarcely any of the people could understand; those who officiated in it,—even the Preacher himself,—were put away in a place where they were only visible and audible to the Pope and Cardinals, and a few other persons: and the people were promenading in the church as if they were at a bazaar.

This is the festival of St. John the Baptist, and all this religious ceremonial is connected with his memory. What would the Baptist himself have said to it? What would he

have said to it, whose heart was fired with holy zeal for God? What would he have said, who rebuked the Pharisees and Sadducees, when they professed to do him honour[1]? Boast not of your spiritual privileges. Say not that ye are the Church of God, and "have Abraham for your father; but bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down and cast into the fire." O that the Spirit of the Elias of the Gospel would revive at Rome! O that he would raise his voice there! "Repent! for the kingdom of heaven is at hand[2]." May God hasten the time!

The Pope went from the church in a magnificent state-carriage drawn by six black horses; he gave his blessing as he passed, and the people waved their handkerchiefs and yellow and white flags. Then came the Cardinals in their splendid equipages. The spectacle was very brilliant,—brilliant, but melancholy in its splendour, and ominous of coming sorrows,—and many thousands of spectators were gathered together to see it. The vast

[1] Matt. iii. 7. Luke iii. 7. [2] Matt. iii. 2.

piazza before the church was almost filled with people, and a large train of carriages and pedestrians lined the road down to the church of S. Clemente and toward the Colosseum, and the windows of the houses on the way were occupied by gazers as they passed.

All the shops of Rome are shut to-day, except the shops for provisions and tobacco,—and for the sale of *lottery tickets*.

A *Lottery* has just been instituted at Rome for the purpose of augmenting the amount of *Peter's pence* for the maintenance of the Papacy; and the gifts offered to the Pope—such as jewels, rings, brooches, trinkets, bracelets, necklaces, pictures, and statues,—are to be the prizes in the Lottery. These are displayed to the public in a grand apartment in the Capitol. Any one who buys twenty lottery tickets is to be presented with a portrait of the Pope. On the 23rd of May, the Committee of Management of the Lottery had the honour of a reception from the Pope, when they laid at his feet the sum of 13,500 scudi, the first instalment of the profits of the Lottery. Since that time the amount paid has reached 50,000 scudi (Nov. 1862), the produce

of the sale of 250,000 tickets. More than a million tickets have been sold.

Is the "Catholic world" content that its offerings to the Pope should be converted into prizes in a game of chance, and fall into hands, it may be, of fortunate heretics or democrats? and is the Papacy to be maintained by gambling?

To-day is a "festa di precetto," and this closing of shops is rigidly enforced by law, and the people are obliged to keep holiday, whether they will or no. We might have purchased lottery tickets without stint; but I went in vain to the office of the steamers, and could not procure a ticket for the voyage from Civita Vecchia to Leghorn; the Corso was thronged with young men lounging about, smoking cigars.

Can Rome become the Capital of Italy? is a question which recurs on such days as these. There has been a traditional policy continued by the Papal Government through many centuries, for *making the Pope and his Hierarchy necessary to Rome.* A great part of the Roman People is fed in body and mind by the peculiar diet provided for their appetites by

religious fêtes and spectacles. The ancient Romans, in the days of their decline, could not subsist without the excitements of the Amphitheatre and the Circus. "The people," said the Poet [3], "which gave laws to the world, now only cry out for 'panem et Circenses.'" In the present day they crave the stimulus of Church festivals and shows. Such religious spectacles as we saw to-day, the Canonization of the 8th of this month, and the Corpus Domini of the 19th, fill up the voids of their lives. The festival of to-day is scarcely over, before they begin to erect booths, and let out seats, and prepare decorations, for the approaching festival of St. Peter on the 29th, when they are to be gratified by an illumination of St. Peter's Church, and if they go to St. John Lateran, may see the "*Esposizione delle teste*"—yes, the very heads—of St. Peter and St. Paul, as the "Diario Romano" informs us, which is published by authority at the press of the "Camera Apostolica" of Rome. In January there is the holy, miraculous image of the Bambino, which is shown in the Capitol

[3] Juvenal, x. 80.

at the Church of "Ara Cœli," on the feast of Epiphany. On the 13th of that month there is a *triduo* at S. Stefano in honour of S. Mauro, who is invoked as a "protector against rheumatism." On the 20th, the body of S. Sebastian, who is an "avvocato contro la peste," is exhibited at his Church. On the 21st, at the Church of S. Agnes, is the benediction of the two lambs, of whose wool the palliums are made which the Pope sends to Roman Catholic Archbishops as tokens of their subjection to him. On the 27th, you may see at St. Peter's what are called the relics of S. Chrysostom, and you are assured that his body is there. On the 1st of February, at S. Clemente, is exposed an arm of S. Ignatius, and you are informed that his body is preserved in that church. And so on, week after week, and month after month, an uninterrupted succession of religious excitement is provided for the people of Rome.

They have been accustomed for many centuries to feast their eyes on the bright forms and colours of sacred pomps and pageants. Religion is dramatized at Rome. Her inhabitants have been brought up with a feeling

that they inherit the right of free access to a beautiful Theatre, in which they are entertained gratuitously with scenic exhibitions unequalled in any city in the world. In this religious Theatre, and in these scenic exhibitions (if we may be allowed the expression) there is one central figure,—one form which overshadows all,—the Pope. And you might as well take Achilles out of the Iliad, as the Pope out of Rome. Rome would not be Rome without him.

By these allurements, so dazzling to the senses, and not without charms to the imagination, and to the highest faculties of man's spiritual nature, Rome not only fascinates her own people, but draws thousands of foreigners to herself,—especially in the Paschal Season. There is a listless indolence, a "senza soggezione," a "dolce far niente," produced by this religious voluptuousness in the life of the people,—a spiritual sybaritism, which will not easily be overcome.

Thus the Papacy has entwined and interwoven itself, by the most subtle threads and intricate fibres, with the sensations, the sympathies, the habits, the interests, the daily life of

the People. The trade and commerce of Rome depend in a great measure on the attractions of her religious spectacles. She has scarcely any other traffic besides that which is derived from the residence of the Pope and the Cardinals. Her Bank, her Exchange, and her Exchequer are at the Vatican. The Pope has made himself necessary to the People as they now are. What would Rome be without him? A mere cenotaph, at least, for a long time.

Another point in this problem, which deserves to be considered, is the dominant influence of the Ecclesiastical element over the population.

As far as the mere numbers of its people are concerned, Rome is only a sixth-rate city in Europe. It contains about 197,000 inhabitants; it is less than Leeds by about 10,000 souls. But in this population there are 20 Cardinals, 35 Bishops, 1529 Priests, and 2500 members of religious orders of men, 2000 nuns, and 757 young men under training for holy orders.

Almost all these are devoted to the interests of the Papacy, both civil and ecclesiastical; they are for the most part loyal subjects,

and zealous partizans of the Monarchy of Pius IX. To these must be added the members of the Roman Nobility, sprung from Papal families, and living in the enjoyment of revenues derived from Pontifical favour.

What therefore would Rome be without the Papacy? Rome languishes under its influence, but one of her miseries is, that this influence has become almost necessary to her, like that of opium to its votaries. "Non possum *tecum* vivere—nec *sine te*," she may say to the Pope.

But might she not be reanimated?

Surely she might; Christianity infused new vigour into the ancient Roman people; and they had strength to found an Empire in the East. Mere secular instruction and political formularies alone cannot do the work of national Regeneration. Rome could not *make* Greece free by *proclaiming* her freedom at the Isthmian Games. Rome could not *make* Greece free by the voice of the heralds of Flamininus. Victor Emmanuel could not change the hearts of the Roman people, and alter their tastes and habits, if he were to ascend the Roman Capitol, and be crowned there King of Italy.

That is a work which requires time. Conquerors cannot extemporize a Nation and improvise a Capital. Literature, Science, and the Arts may do much; but to revive a People from a state of moral lethargy is a work which requires the vivifying power of Christianity. It cannot be effected without the Holy Spirit of God.

And what human agency is to be applied to this work of Reformation? How is it to be *begun?* Some perhaps would reply, By attacks on the peculiar *doctrines* of Romanism. But this may well be doubted. The People are wedded to the dogmas of Romanism; and not having had access to the Scriptures, nor having been taught to venerate the Bible, but looking on their own Church as the living oracle of all Divine Truth, they are not in a condition, *at present*, to understand the bearings of logical arguments on matters of *doctrine*.

They are also strongly attached by long usage to the Romish forms of *devotion;* and any assaults upon those forms, in *the present condition and temper of the people*, would excite their passions and might stimulate them to violence, and exasperate them against

Reformation, and would expose its advocates to the charge of irreligion and infidelity.

But they *are* competent to enter into questions of religious *discipline* and ecclesiastical *polity*. If Reformation is to succeed in Rome, it ought, I apprehend, to *begin* with such questions as the following,—What is the true position of the Bishop of Rome according to the *ancient laws* and *usages* of the Church? What is the true nature of the Pope's jurisdiction? What are his real rights as to summoning Bishops from their own countries? what, as to the nomination of Bishops?

These, and such questions as these, involve simply a reference to historical *facts*, and could easily be determined. They would not alarm the popular prejudices, or excite popular passions; but, on the contrary, they would be gladly welcomed by the great body of the Italian Nation, and even by the inhabitants of Rome, who have been awakened to examine the foundation of the Pope's temporal power, and who feel the evils which are produced by it.

Let the Church of Rome be purified and restored, and the City of Rome may revive

also. Let the work of renovation be pursued with wise deliberation, and by gradual, regular, and well-considered measures, according to the laws and usages of the primitive Church. Let the People of Rome implore the Church of Rome to read the Holy Scriptures, and to offer prayer and praise to God in their own language; let her noble churches resound with the eloquence of Leos and Gregories: and then in God's own time the City of Rome may become the Capital of Italy—not for a few short years or months of temporary enthusiasm, but for many generations to come.

This afternoon I had the pleasure of a visit from a very intelligent person, who has been many years resident at Rome, and is perfectly acquainted with the social condition of the people. He said that the effect of the Papal system was to engender a spirit of hypocrisy. No one is employed by the Papal Government, unless he goes to confession, &c.; hence is produced a spirit of mutual espionage: a man who is the candidate for the same office as his neighbour, will act as an informer against him, in order to supplant him in the

confidence of the Government. The Roman Nobility have no political career open to them, the high offices of State being occupied by Ecclesiastics; and thus they are for the most part condemned to a life of frivolous dissipation and voluptuous effeminacy. How much time will it require to educate such a class as that into masculine vigour and energy?

Much has been written concerning what is called "the Roman question." At the Peace of Villafranca (July 11, 1859), the two contracting Sovereigns, Napoleon III., and Francis Joseph of Austria, pledged themselves to endeavour to form an "Italian Confederacy, under the honorary Presidency of the Pope." This engagement was expressed n the first and second Articles of that Treaty. This pledge has never been realized, nor is it probable that it ever will be.

"The Emperor of Austria" (as is said in the third Article of that Treaty) "cedes his own rights over Lombardy *to the Emperor of the French*; who transfers them to the King of Sardinia, *conformably to the votes of the people.*"

This stipulation seems to intimate, that "*if* the votes of the *Roman people*" were in favour of a similar transfer in the case of Rome, France would give effect to their desires. But still, while on the one side Victor Emmanuel announces his resolve, and the resolve of the Italian people, to make Rome the Capital of Italy, and while the presence of the French troops is declared by France herself to be necessary to defend the Papal Sovereignty, and to maintain the Pope upon his throne, *against the wishes of his People*, the principle applied to Lombardy at the Peace of Villafranca, made by the Emperor of the French, does not seem at present to be deemed applicable to Rome. This is one of the labyrinths of diplomacy to which no logic can supply a clue.

May it not be, that while men are perplexing themselves in ingenious speculations and elaborate negotiations and manœuvres to find a solution to "the Roman question," it may be solved by the Providence and Power of God, in a way wholly unexpected by them?

Time will show.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ROME TO GENOA.

Wednesday, June 25th.—Left Rome this morning for Civita Vecchia; and left Civita Vecchia in the afternoon on board the "Aunis" for Leghorn and Genoa. The steamer was crowded with Ecclesiastics returning to their homes from the Canonization. One Tuscan priest, who seemed a grave, sober-minded person, was deploring the evil consequences which were arising in Tuscany from the struggle between the King of Italy and the Pope, especially from the fact that Bishoprics and Parochial cures are kept *vacant*, the King having the nomination to Bishoprics and to many Parochial cures in Tuscany; but his nominations to the Bishoprics being of no avail, *unless* they are ratified by the Pope; and his nominations to the Parochial cures

being also ineffectual, unless they are sanctioned by the Bishops of the Dioceses, who are devoted to the Papacy. Hence the revenues of the Church are wasted, and the spiritual welfare of the people suffers. If this strife is not appeased, Irreligion and Anarchy will prevail, to the damage of both contending parties, and of the whole nation.

Another Priest was deploring the defection of such men as Passaglia from allegiance to the Papacy. He could not admit the plea urged in their behalf, that they were devoted children of the Pope as a Bishop, and as Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, while they treated with contempt his commands, and defied his authority and his orders and decrees concerning the necessity of the temporal power for the administration of the spiritual. In so doing, did they not pretend to be wiser than the Pope, with regard to the interests of the Papacy? They were, he said, undutiful and rebellious children; worse than open enemies: they were like Judas, who betrayed his Master with a kiss. "But," he added, "the bark of St. Peter has ever been tossed with storms, and 'non farà mai naufragio.'"

I heard it said of Padre Passaglia, that having strong claims to advancement to the highest dignities in the Church of Rome, especially for his theological labours in support of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, of which he was the chosen champion, he might have expected the same recognition and recompense as were awarded in earlier days to learned members of religious orders,—as, for example, Bellarmine and Baronius.

Two other Priests were comparing the relative merits of the Bishops of Orléans and Tulle as preachers. There were friars of different orders: one, a tall, thin, middle-aged Capuchin, not caring to deny that his thick woollen dress was very oppressive in this sweltering weather. An American Roman Catholic Bishop was also of the party; very courteous and communicative. He deplored the injuries inflicted on domestic life in America by the laxity of the law concerning Divorce. "A dissolution of marriage," he said, "may be obtained in some of the States of America almost on any pretext,—as among the Jews;—a solemn warning to England. It was," he thought, "of the greatest importance

that some religious communion should exist, which bore a solemn testimony against this facility of Divorce; and that in this respect, as in others, the Roman Catholic Church was rendering great service; and also in her protest against the laws in America which authorize marriage with a deceased wife's sister."

But was it not a Bishop of Rome who first countenanced these marriages in Christendom, namely, Pope Alexander VI., Borgia, who gave a dispensation for such a marriage to Emmanuel, King of Portugal, A.D. 1500? and is not a principal cause of the facilities now given to Divorce to be found in the practice of the Church of Rome, which has imposed unscriptural restraints on marriage, and has invented novel prohibitions and fictitious degrees of affinity, and then, for the sake of lucre or power, has granted *dispensations* for the contraction of marriages unauthorized by the Law of God?

As a specimen of the confusion introduced into families by the Pope's matrimonial dispensations, it may be observed,—in the words of Sir E. Sandys,—that "King Philip the

Second might have called the Archduke Albert his brother, cousin, nephew, and son; for all these he was to him either by blood or affinity; being uncle to himself, cousin-german to his father, husband to his sister, and father to his wife[1]." The Church of Rome has secularized marriage (although she calls it a Sacrament), and the Legislatures of Europe and America have followed her example.

This Roman Catholic American Bishop bore honourable testimony to the learning of many members of the Church of England, and to the preservation of primitive truth in her Ritual.

It was an interesting sight to see these Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics conning their Breviaries, having first made the sign of the cross on opening the book, at stated hours during the voyage; some, while pacing the deck, others, sitting on the benches. These visible, periodical professions of piety and devotion are surely of great value; and it must be allowed that in England we have lost a great deal in this respect. The superstitious

[1] *Sir E. Sandys*, Europæ Speculum, p. 43, ed. Lond. 1673.

practices of Rome before the Reformation, and afterwards the hypocrisy of too many persons among the Puritans, have made us afraid of any outward demonstration of religious life and affection. They have produced an awkward shyness,—a moral cowardice,—in matters of religion. An unhappy result. One of our most sober-minded divines, Bishop Butler, has deplored it in the only Episcopal Charge he ever printed. A great change, he observed, had taken place in England. In former times there was great need of guarding people against laying too much stress on outward things, and formal acts of piety, to the neglect of what is inward and spiritual. But now, even for the *sake of what is spiritual*, it is necessary that "people should be instructed in the importance of external religion." It is not probable that our wayside crosses will be restored, or that we shall see a "Via Crucis" in our mountain ascents, and therefore there is more need of our making good use of what we have.

Bishop Butler suggested the setting apart of certain fixed times in the day, in addition to the set devotions of morning and evening, so

that the return of the hour and the sound of the clock should remind us to say short prayers or inward ejaculations, and he asked if men were thus admonished even by the sight of a Church, could it be called superstitious? . . . The sight of suitable texts of Scripture on our public buildings,—such as that on the Royal Exchange in the midst of the busy traffic of London, suggested by the Prince Consort, and one of the noblest and holiest monuments to his memory,—would surely have some influence on the national piety of the people; we know what a striking effect the sight of a verse of Scripture, in a happy moment, had on the life of S. Augustine.

Our fellow-voyager, the Bishop, told me that the American Roman Catholic Bishops of the Southern States had been prevented from going to Rome to the Canonization, because passports would not be granted to them by the Federal Government, as they would not swear allegiance to it. Singular it is, that they should thus be brought into the same predicament as the Bishops under the rule of Victor Emmanuel. This fact, however, shows that

Republics take the same view as some Monarchies do, in requiring Bishops to be loyal to the State, if they wish to communicate with the Pope.

It will be remembered also, that no Bishop of Portugal was present at the Canonization: nor did any Bishop of that country send any letter of excuse for his absence, or express any regret for it[2].

After two nights and a day, (we stopped more than twelve hours at Leghorn,) we found ourselves on a beautiful fresh summer morning, Friday, June 27, at four o'clock, in the Gulf of Genoa, in front of the Palazzo Doria and of the other beautiful objects of that glorious city, and the magnificent hills above it.

We had a beautiful drive in the evening. The vegetation in the gardens of the palace was in full glory, and gave an additional charm to the fine old historical buildings connected with the valiant exploits of the Republic, and

[2] The Pope has complained bitterly of this in his letter to the Portuguese Bishops. See *Observateur Catholique*, Oct. 1, 1862.

to the sea which excited the ardour of Columbus, and trained him for his enterprise.

The old Convents with their dim cloisters, and their court-yards shaded by orange-trees overhanging the old conventual well, in which many generations in ages long gone by, and religious orders now about to become extinct, have slaked their thirst, and from which they gave refreshment to the weary traveller in sultry days like these; the long narrow streets with their grand lofty houses, and the trains of mules ambling along them; and the picturesque forms of the women in their snow-white veils, impart a peculiar character to Genoa, and render it one of the most interesting cities of Italy, as it certainly is one of the most magnificent.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GENOA TO TURIN.

Saturday, June 28th.—By railroad to Turin. One of our fellow-travellers put into my hand a number of the "*Opinione*"—a leading journal of Turin—in which there was an article where it was said, that the Government need not pay any respect to what Italian Bishops say or do, and even alleged that they are not "pastori, ma lupi;" and why? "because they are not *elected* by *the people*, as they ought to be." These are signs of the times. Might not the Government of Italy do well to consider the proper course to be pursued in this matter? Ought it to allow such questions as these to be left to take their chance? May not the durability of the Italian Monarchy depend in great measure on their proper solution? The Monarchy seems to be be-

tween a Scylla and Charybdis of Ultramontanism on one side, and Republicanism on the other. If the friends of the Crown desire to maintain its rights, must they not show *against* the Papacy that the *Pope* has no claim to exercise any authority in the investiture of Bishops, or in their confirmation and consecration, beyond his own Provincial territory, which is liable to alteration? and must they not also be able to satisfy the People, that in ancient times, after the Empire became Christian, the People had not the sole and definitive voice in the choice of Bishops, but that their suffrages were dependent for ratification on the sanction of the Clergy, the Metropolitan, and the Crown? Might not a well-considered enactment, which would adjust the respective claims of the various parties concerned, be of great benefit to the State as well as to the Church of Italy?

Turin is now the residence of the Sovereign, the seat of the Legislature, the provisional Capital of Italy. It is a remarkable event, that a City, which looks as if it belonged to the new world, with its modern palaces, and

rectangular streets—an European Philadelphia—should, for a time at least, have eclipsed the glories of the time-honoured Cities whose names ring in ancient story—Milan, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Bologna, Naples. But so it is; and how has this been effected? By the hardy valour and military prowess of the House of Savoy, one of those vigorous races which has not been enfeebled by the enervating influences of Southern Italy, and seems to have been nerved and braced to deeds of heroic valour by the bleak winds which blow upon it from the Alps. Is there not here an analogy between the history of modern Italy and that of ancient Greece? When the glories of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos had almost faded away, the splendour of Grecian glory was revived by a Nation of mountaineers in the north of Greece, a Nation which the refined Hellenic cities had despised as barbarous. Greece was re-invigorated by Macedonia. Piedmont is the Pella of Italy. She has given birth to heroes; under Carlo Alberto and Victor Emmanuel she has done for Italy what was achieved for Greece by Philip of Macedon, and his son. May the analogy go

further? Philip and Alexander could not, however, combine Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Argos, in one permanent Greek Monarchy. Will it be possible for Piedmont to mould the old republican cities of Italy into one compact Kingdom? Will she be able to unite Venice and Genoa, Milan and Florence, and Rome and Naples? Can she set them all as gems and jewels in the crown of the King of Italy? If she is able to do this, she will eclipse the glory of Macedon under Alexander the Great. And for this work, she has a moral and religious power, which Alexander did not possess —that of Christianity.

I have already noticed[1] the remarkable fact, that the House of Savoy, which was formerly one of the most devoted vassals of the Papal Power, and which was used by the Church of Rome as her instrument in her wars of religious Persecution, is now, by a remarkable retribution, employed by divine Providence to execute judgment on the Papacy. The power of Piedmont is the scourge of Rome. Its Sovereign already holds a considerable part of

[1] Above, Vol. i. pp. 259–264.

the States of the Church. It declares its resolve to establish itself in the Roman Capitol. It has already enacted many laws in its Parliament, especially those which were adopted under the administration of Massimo D'Azeglio, by which the power of Rome has been restrained; for instance, the Law for the Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts; the Law of Mortmain; and that by which the Clergy have been made subject to the Common Law; and afterwards, under Cavour, the Law for the gradual Suppression of Monasteries. And at Turin Passaglia is welcomed, and makes war against the temporal power of the Pope.

Sunday, June 29.—Went to the English Chapel, Via S. Tommaso, Corso del Re. It is behind a much more handsome building, which is called "Tempio Protestante," the Church of the *Vaudois* or *Valdesi*, and which was built, I believe, in a great measure with funds from England.

The Vaudois congregation has also an annual endowment, which has been paid by England ever since 1768, and comes through the

"Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." It amounted in 1861 to £325. Much more is done by England for the Vaudois congregations, than for the English Church in Italy.

The juxtaposition of the English Chapel and the Vaudois Church suggests a deep regret for the separation of their members; and prompts an earnest desire that they might be united together in one common profession of doctrine, and in the same Apostolic discipline. The separation of Protestants among themselves is a fatal hindrance to the Reformation of the Church of Rome. If they could be united among themselves in the same doctrine and discipline, as displayed in the faith and practice of the primitive Church, there would be good hope that many of the holiest and wisest men in the Church of Rome would join with them.

In the mean time it is greatly to be desired that the Church of England would take advantage of the present opportunity of religious toleration in the Kingdom of Italy, and would present herself in the full integrity, purity, and beauty of her doctrine and ritual to the eyes of the Italian people. The most happy

results might be anticipated from such an effort on her part.

I visited the Vaudois Church after our morning service. After the sermon the Preacher recited the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and some prayers of considerable length, out of a book. Are there not some materials for union here? There was an offertory after the service.

As an illustration of what has just been said, concerning the disastrous effects of Protestant sectarianism and divisions, it may be mentioned, that when it was announced last year in some English papers, that an excellent English clergyman was going to Italy, to endeavour to open some channels of religious communication with the Italians, the news flew to Turin, and he was forthwith denounced from the pulpits of the Churches of this city even before his arrival. The leading Roman Catholic Journal of Turin, the *Armonia*, published a long list of *the various sects of religious dissent* in England; and asked this question, "To *which* of these various forms of religion does the learned and zealous propagandist, who is coming amongst us, propose to

convert the Italians?" Would that our non-conformist brethren, who inveigh loudly and justly against the abuses of Rome, and profess themselves the champions of the Reformation, and yet seem to take pleasure in multiplying divisions, and even to exult in them, as if they were signs of religious vitality and energy, might be affectionately implored to visit Italy, and consider the deadly effect of their religious divisions, in strengthening and perpetuating the superstitions and corruptions of Popery, and in obstructing the progress of Reformation!

I called on a distinguished person well acquainted with the position of affairs in Italy. He remarked, that the Government and Parliament of Italy, which have their seat at Turin, are almost entirely occupied with legislation in detail, and have little leisure, and perhaps little inclination, to consider the great fundamental principles of Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity, especially in regard to the great question, How to *oppose the Papacy*, without doing injury to the cause of *Religion* and the *Monarchy?*

He observed, as one of the worst effects

of Romanism, that it has produced a spirit of scepticism among the higher classes—even among some of the politicians, patriots, and statesmen of Italy. They see the abuses of Popery, and they identify Christianity with them. Hence it is that many among them do not appear to realize the fundamental truth (which even Macchiavelli acknowledged) that no State can flourish, or even long subsist, without a religious foundation. Little heed is given to the divine declarations, "Righteousness exalteth a Nation;" "By Me kings reign;" "Them that honour Me, I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed;" "Be wise now, ye Kings; be instructed, ye that are judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear;" "He removeth kings, and setteth up kings." Religion is left to take care of itself; the policy of Gallio seems to prevail. Will not the consequence be, that, unless a different course is pursued, the new Italian Monarchy may prove to be a house built upon the sand?

Another evil effect of Romanism, as already

observed, is, that many of the public men of Italy seem to have little knowledge, as yet, of any Ecclesiastical Law, except the *Papal Canon Law.* They do not appear to have formed, as yet, an adequate conception of the principles of that body of Ecclesiastical Law, which was received and practised in *ancient times*, even in *Italy* itself, and is capable of harmonizing admirably with free Institutions, such as that which they are attempting to found, of a constitutional Monarchy; and which would afford the best means of extricating them from their present difficulties, and of resisting the unjust usurpations of the Papacy, without endangering the cause of Religion and the Monarchy, but on the contrary would consolidate both.

As an illustration of this statement, a reference may be made to the policy, in Ecclesiastical matters, of the two leading Italian Statesmen after the campaign of Lombardy in 1859.

Count Cavour would have sacrificed the liberties of the Church to the Papacy, in order to obtain Rome as the Capital of Italy. His

principle was—"Let us have Rome by all means as our Capital; but let us have Rome without *giving offence to the Pope.*"

His successor, Baron Ricasoli, in the celebrated letter which he wrote to Cardinal Antonelli from Turin, on Sept. 2, 1861, offered the following terms as the price of a compromise between the Pope and the King of Italy;

"Art. 7. * * * His Majesty the King of Italy *renounces all his patronage of Ecclesiastical benefices.*

"Art. 8. The Italian Government *renounces all intervention* (ingerenza) *in the nomination of Bishops.*"

Happily for the Church and Crown and People of Italy, Cardinal Antonelli did not accept these prodigal offers. Nations are sometimes more befriended by the obstinacy of their enemies, than by the policy of their friends.

Strange contrast! Rosmini[2], the friend of Pius IX., wished Carlo Alberto to surrender his royal nominations of Bishops to the Clergy

[2] See above, Vol. i. p. 244.

and People; and Ricasoli, the adviser of his son, Victor Emmanuel, proposed that he should give them up to the Pope!

On the other hand, there is a class of politicians in the Italian Parliament who pay no attention to any Ecclesiastical law, whether primitive or papal; but would war against the Church of Rome by weapons drawn from the armoury of Erastianism; which would put the Monarchy and the Nation in a false position —because it is an irreligious and antichristian one—and give great advantage and triumph to the Papacy. They frame Addresses and propose Laws, which betray much irritation and exasperation against the Papacy and the Roman Catholic Episcopate, but which have no *constructive* tendency, or conciliatory and healing character, but rather tend to social disruption, and to national decomposition and dissolution.

The distinguished person with whom I had the honour of conversing, expressed an opinion that it is unwise in those who desire Reformation in Italy, to *begin* with assailing those dogmas and practices of the Roman Catholic Priesthood and People, to which they

have been inveterately attached for many generations. By so doing we should only alienate and exasperate them still more. The Clergy and People are not ripe for it. I was much gratified by this concurrence in an opinion already expressed in these pages. He also said, that in his judgment the wisest course would be to begin with things in which we *agree* with them; and so gain their confidence and affection; and that great good might be done by an appeal to ancient Church *polity* and *discipline;* and from that common ground, which is one in which the reference would be to *historical facts*, which would not excite any angry passions, we might *proceed afterwards* to consider questions of *doctrine.*

The conflict between the temporal power and the spiritual is assuming every day a more threatening aspect. As a specimen of its character, it may be here mentioned that the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, acting under the direction of the Papacy, has suspended 20 Priests *a divinis*, for taking part in the religious celebration of the National Festival (festa dello statuto); and by his Vicar-General has also suspended a priest (Abatè

Palomba), who was elected as Member of Parliament[3] for Torre del Greco, and consented to serve in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin. The notice of suspension was communicated to the Abate in the following remarkable terms; "*Poichè voi siete deputato* al Parlamento nazionale, il vostro superiore ecclesiastico per tal causa vi sospende *a divinis;* e resterete così sospeso ed interdetto, fino a che non abbiate rinunziato al mandato di rappresentante della nazione, e non abbiate con solenne ritrattazione fatto di tal vostro fallo pubblica ammenda."

On the other side, since the above was written, the Vicario Capitolare, or deputy of the Bishop of Grosseto, has been condemned by the Civil Tribunal of that place to pay a fine of 500 francs and costs (August 4, 1862), for sending to the Clergy of the Diocese a circular, grounded on a decree of the Penitenzieria of Rome, and forbidding the celebration of all sacred offices on the occasion of the national anniversary.

[3] There are ten Priests in the present Italian Parliament: it consists of 443 members, of whom 135 are "avvocati," 52 "professori," and 25 "medici."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

TURIN.

Tuesday, July 1st.—I called to-day on the celebrated theologian Carlo Passaglia. This distinguished person was selected by Pius IX. from among the divines of Rome to be the champion of the Papacy, and to write in behalf of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in the year 1854, when Roman Catholic Bishops were summoned from all parts of the world to assist the Pope in the promulgation of that dogma, as is recorded in large letters in marble in the Sacrarium of St. Peter's at Rome; as already described (pp. 31—33).

He now resides at Turin, and occupies apartments in "Casa Cavour," the palace where Count Cavour was born in 1810, August 10th, and where he died on the 6th of June, 1861. It is a remarkable circumstance, a

specimen of the sudden change of affairs in this country, that the former champion of Pius IX. should be living in the capital of Victor Emmanuel, and be dwelling in the house of his late Minister, who did more than any other man to constitute the kingdom of Italy, in opposition to the Papal power. I found him there to-day. And how is he engaged? In collecting signatures of the Roman Catholic Clergy from all parts of Italy, in support of an Address framed by himself to the Pope, in which the Pope is conjured to lay aside his temporal power, and to unite with all "loyal citizens and genuine Italians," in making Rome the capital of the kingdom of Italy. "Long live the Pope" is one cry, (such is the language of this Address,) and "Long live Rome, the capital of Italy," is another cry, the cry of "patriotism and national independence, which resounds from one end of the country to the other; and if these two voices are not united, but are opposed to each other, there exists no temporal and spiritual evil, which is not to be feared, and there is no national and religious good, which can reasonably be hoped for, 'non vi ha danno

temporale e spirituale, che non debba temersi, nè vi ha bene nazionale e religioso, che possa prudentemente sperarsi.' It is for thee, and for thee only, O most holy Father, to harmonize these two voices and to blend them in one."

Such is the Address penned by Passaglia, and circulated by him in all parts of Italy. At the former assemblage of Bishops at Rome in 1854, he was the chosen advocate of the Papacy; but now, at the next Episcopal gathering in that city, he has been employed in obtaining signatures to a Manifesto against the Pope's temporal power.

I was informed by him that he had already received *eight thousand signatures* of *Clergy* to this Address, and that he expected to receive *ten thousand.* The names may be seen, published by him in his journal, printed at Turin, the "Mediatore[1]."

[1] They have now been published by him in a volume entitled, "Petizione di 9000 Sacerdoti Italiani a S. S. Pio Papa IX. Torino, Oct. 1862." More has been said concerning this petition, above, pp. 34. 55, 56.

Since these words were written the breach has been widened between the Papacy and Passaglia. The Church of Rome has declared that Passaglia and all the Priests

When Baron Ricasoli was in power, he authorized a communication to be made to the Clergy, that if they suffered Ecclesiastical censure and penalties in consequence of their adhesion to this Address, they would be indemnified by the civil power. But this assu-

who signed his Manifesto, have incurred "*excommunication*, and the other penalties inflicted by the Roman Pontiffs in their Apostolic Letters."

This decree (which may be seen in the "Costituzione," No. 338, and in the "Mediatore" for Dec. 13, 1862) appeared in the form of a reply to an inquiry addressed by a Confessor to the Pope himself. The Confessor wrote a letter to the Pope, in which the question was put, "whether the petitioners had incurred the above penalties?" and the answer was as follows: "Sacra Pœnitentiaria, præfato dubio maturè perpenso rescribit *affirmativè*; datum Romæ in Sacrâ Pœnitentiariâ, die 6 Octobris, 1862. Firmato A. M. Card. CAGIANO, M. P., A. RUBINI, S. P. Secr."

No wonder that after this rescript Passaglia was prohibited by Monsignor Caccia from preaching his course of Advent Sermons at Milan; see below, p. 264.

It is certainly a remarkable phenomenon in the history of the Church of Rome, that the most celebrated Theologian of her Communion, who was chosen by the Pope to be the champion of her new dogma in 1854, should now be under her ban of excommunication, and be interdicted from preaching in her Churches.

rance has not been continued under Ricasoli's successor, Rattazzi[2]; and the withdrawal of it, while it has exposed the Clergy who signed the Address to the unmitigated anger of the Papacy and its Hierarchy, has given greater importance to their signatures; they are the signatures of persons who show the sincerity of their belief by their willingness to suffer the severest privations for it.

Passaglia bore honourable testimony to the learning of the great divines of the Church of England, and to the value of their labours in patristic theology, which had been of much service to him in his divinity lectures at Rome; and he added, that in those lectures he had never taught the personal or official infallibility of the Pope, apart from the Church: but that the Papal power is limited by two conditions; first, that it is to be exercised as a "ministero," and not as an independent power; and, secondly, that it ought never to be employed for hierarchical domination.

In one of our conversations, Passaglia quoted the celebrated passage of S. Irenæus

[2] Rattazzi and his colleagues have retired from office (Dec. 1862) since this was written.

as a main argument for the Papal primacy and supremacy in matters of *doctrine:* "ad hanc Ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potentiorem principalitatem *necesse est* omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles[3]," and he has inserted a reference to this passage in his Address to the Pope, as a testimony of his reverence for the *spiritual* authority of the Roman See. I replied that I never could perceive the relevancy of that passage—so often quoted—to the question at issue. S. Irenæus is there only stating a *fact.* He is asserting, that on account of the more authoritative antiquity (or primitiveness) of the Roman Church, we may assume as a logical and necessary consequence[4] that all

[3] S. Iren. iii. 3. The reader will bear in mind that we have not the *original* words of Irenæus in this passage, but only an old Latin version of them.

[4] The author has given examples of the use of ἀνάγκη, (which was probably the original word of Irenæus,) in his work on S. Hippolytus, p. 203. So Virgil, Æneid. vi. 737,

"Penitusque *necesse est*
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris."

And Milton, Paradise Lost, xii.

"Objects divine
Must needs impair and weary human sense."

other Churches coincide with it; and therefore in citing the testimony of *that* Church, he is virtually appealing to all other Churches; and that he *need not therefore weary his reader* with referring to *more* than *that* Church. That this is his meaning is clear, I conceive, from the context, and from the parallel passage of Tertullian, where he uses a similar argument against the heretics of his day; "Do you wish to know what the Apostles taught? If you are near Achaia, you have the Church of Corinth, she will tell you: if you can visit Asia, you may apply to Ephesus: if you are near Italy, you have Rome: ask her[5]."

This was a good argument against the heretics of that early age in which Irenæus and Tertullian lived.

But it has no force to prove the supremacy of Rome, and the obligation of all Christians to conform to her *now;* it might as well be used to prove their obligation to conform to the Church of Corinth or of Ephesus.

I should be doing Passaglia injustice, were I to give any countenance to the impression

[5] Tertullian de Præscr. Hæret. c. 21.

that he is not an earnest partizan of the *spiritual supremacy* of the Roman See. I believe him to be as much devoted to the Papacy in *spiritual* matters, as any member of the College of Cardinals. Indeed I am fully persuaded, that he is honestly convinced that the Pope would *gain* in spiritual influence by the surrender of his temporal power. These are *his* convictions.

But the Pope is of another mind, and so are all the College of Cardinals, and almost all the Roman Catholic Bishops of Italy; and they unite in condemning Passaglia and his adherents, and in asserting the indissolubility of the temporal and spiritual Supremacy [6].

This being the case, may it not be anticipated that this eminent Theologian may

[6] Since this was written, Passaglia was invited to preach a series of Advent sermons by the Rector of the Church of S. Carlo at Milan; and he preached an introductory sermon there on Sunday, Nov. 16, and had come to preach a second on Nov. 23, but was interdicted by Monsignor Caccia, and the series of sermons came abruptly to an end. The reader will remember, that there are *six* Sundays in *Advent* in the *Ambrosian* Liturgy of *Milan;* and that the first Sunday falls on Nov. 13—19 inclusive.

become a powerful instrument in the hands of the Divine Head of the Church for the restoration of the Church of Italy to a sounder and happier condition?

There is a remarkable resemblance between the policy of the Romish Church in Italy at the present time, and that of the Priests and Pharisees of Jerusalem in the time of our Lord's ministry, and in the last days of the Jewish city. They forbade the payment of tribute to Cæsar; and alleged that obedience to the civil power of Rome was treason against God. They endeavoured to consecrate rebellion by the name of religion; and stirred up revolt against the imperial rule on the plea of zeal for the divine glory. With such pretexts as these, they fostered sedition, and abetted insurrection, and encouraged brigandage and assassination.

This factious and anarchical spirit, combined with a specious and hypocritical profession of piety, brought retribution upon them; and led eventually to the destruction of Jerusalem by the arms of Rome, and to the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world.

On the other hand, our Blessed Lord and His Apostles preached loyalty and obedience in all lawful things to the government of Cæsar, although that government was a heathen one, and although the governors themselves were blemished by many vices.

He avoided the snare of the Pharisees, by commanding them to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's[7];" and at a time when the Judaizing Teachers were every where exciting rebellion against the Roman rule, the Apostles of Christ, who were taught by Him, and were inspired by the Holy Ghost, commanded the Christians to pray for Kings, even for a Nero[8]; and exhorted Christian Bishops,—such as Titus in Crete,—to put their Clergy and People in mind "to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey Magistrates[9];" and they condemned those who "despised dominion and spoke evil of dignities[1]."

The present spirit and practices of the Papacy are precisely similar to those of the

[7] Matt. xxii. 21.
[8] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.
[9] Titus iii. 1, 2.
[1] 2 Pet. ii. 10. Jude 8.

Judaizing false Teachers; and they are very unlike those of the Apostles of Christ, and of Christ Himself: and yet the Bishop of Rome claims to be the successor of St. Peter, and the Vicar of Christ upon earth.

It is indeed alleged by the Pope and by the Papal Hierarchy, that the King of Italy is an Usurper; that he has seized the territories of other sovereigns, and even of the Church. But surely this allegation is irrelevant and nugatory. Victor Emmanuel is *de facto* 'King of Italy.' His coin is current there. Justice is administered in his name. He is acknowledged as King of Italy by the Italian People and the Italian Parliament, and by the greatest Powers of Europe. His title to his kingdom is certainly as good as that of Tiberius or Nero was to dominion over the Holy Land and at Jerusalem in our Lord's age, and in that of His Apostles.

If then the Bishop of Rome is in truth, as well as in name, a Bishop of Christ's Church; if the Bishops of Italy derive their mission from Christ, and are successors of the Apostles; surely they ought to follow the example

of Christ and His Apostles in preaching loyalty and obedience to Rulers, and not to imitate the turbulent temper, and the infatuated policy of those religious democrats and demagogues, who stimulated the people to rebellion, and involved Jerusalem in ruin.

May it not be anticipated that the results of the Papal policy will be similar to those which were produced by that of the Priests and Pharisees in the last days of Jerusalem?

There are some striking words in a letter of the Clergy of Liège to Pope Paschalis II., (about A.D. 1107,) which seem very applicable at the present time, and which might well be adopted by the 9000 Priests who have signed the recent requisition to Pope Pius IX.

Pope Paschalis II., who pursued the policy of Hildebrand, denounced the Emperor Henry IV., and forbade the Clergy to pray for him, and preached a holy war against him, and excommunicated the Priests of Liège for remaining faithful to him. "Woe"—(said the Priests of Liège, in that letter)—"Woe to them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that

write grievousness which they have prescribed[2]! Pope Hildebrand was the first who hurled the sacerdotal spear against the diadem of Kings. He is the author of the schism which now rends the Church, by his excommunication of our Sovereign. The words of Pope Paschalis, which declare that war against our King is the sacrifice most pleasing to God, surpass in cruelty the menaces of Alaric. If our King is a heretic, (which God forbid!) we are deeply grieved, but we are not thereby authorized to take up arms against him. No: we ought on the contrary to *pray for him*, as the *Apostles* did for Kings who were not Catholics, nor even Christians. When we see our holy Mother, the Church of Rome, draw her spiritual sword against her children, it is for *her* that we feel alarm[3]."

I had the honour of a visit this afternoon from one of the most eminent members of the

[2] Isa. x. 1.

[3] This remarkable letter is inserted by the Benedictines, with words of commendation, in their "Histoire littéraire de la France," Tom. x. p. 229, ed. Paris, 1733. See also Labbè, Concil. x. pp. 629. 642.

Italian Parliament, who has held a high public station.

He thought that there were many difficulties in their present position, which was a very critical one. Much will depend on the firmness of the King. The highest personage in the realm is almost without an equal in chivalrous valour and military magnanimity, and in honesty and truthfulness of character. But the royal training of Roman Catholic princes has not usually been favourable to change of opinions on the great principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity; and in religious questions, whether concerning doctrine or discipline, the impressions derived from hereditary traditions and early education are not easy to be effaced. On one memorable occasion, in the year 1855, when the question was debated in the Italian Parliament, concerning Ecclesiastical reforms, and when the royal House of Savoy was mourning a double affliction—the loss of a Mother and a Queen—the conflict was severe and bitter between the two parties in the State; and under the influence of the Hierarchy, the royal mind was alienated for a time from Count Cavour and his Colleagues.

Then it was that the courageous statesman, Massimo D'Azeglio, came forward, and wrote a letter—dated 29th April, 1855—which is one of the most memorable documents that was ever addressed by a subject to a King. The effect of that letter reflects no less credit on the royal recipient than on the intrepid writer. It restored Cavour to his post[4].

The recollection of these circumstances na-

[4] That letter of Massimo D'Azeglio may be seen in Professor Vincenzo Botta's "Discourse on Count Cavour," New York, 1862, p. 44. It was first published, I believe, in an English work, "The Vicissitudes of Italy since the Congress of Vienna," by A. L. V. Gretton. Lond. 1859. It contains the following paragraphs:—"Sire . . . A cabal of friars has succeeded in one day in destroying the work of your reign, in agitating the country, in undermining the constitution, and in obscuring your name for honesty and truth. . . . There is not a moment to be lost. . . . Sardinia will suffer any thing rather than to be put anew under the priestly yoke. Witness in Spain the result of the monkish intrigues to bring the Queen to subscribe a disgraceful *Concordat*. To what has it reduced her! Similar intrigues produced the downfall of James Stuart, of Charles X., and many others. . . . Amedeus II. disputed for thirty years with Rome, and conquered. Be firm, and your Majesty will likewise conquer."

turally suggests the question, "What will be the course pursued by the advisers of the King of Italy, under very similar circumstances, at the present time?"

If it were made clear to the royal House of *Savoy*—which is now the royal house of *Italy* — that in resisting the encroachments and usurpations of the Papacy, and in restoring the Church of Italy to her primitive condition in doctrine and discipline, it would be promoting the cause of *true religion*, and advancing the glory of God, and be commending itself and its subjects to the protection and favour of the Divine Arbiter of the destinies of nations, and be establishing the Italian Monarchy on a solid foundation, then it might be hoped, that the intrigues and suggestions of Papal emissaries would not be able to inspire it with panic fears, and to bind it in the mysterious spell of superstitious alarms, and that it would march boldly onward, with a valiant heart and firm step, in the glorious career which is now opening before it. A warning may be suggested to the friends of Italy by the history of France. In the seventeenth century Louis XIV. of France was embroiled for

many years with the Papacy; his ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, was excommunicated by the Pope; the French Church at Rome, S. Luigi dei Francesi, was placed under an interdict, and all its clergy were suspended. But the "grand Monarque," the most illustrious conqueror of the age, was affected by religious scruples, and swayed by superstitious influences; and though he had the French Clergy, with a Bossuet at their head, to support him, and though he had the Parliament of France on his side, yet Louis XIV. succumbed under the power of the Vatican.

Much will depend on the courage, wisdom, piety, and learning of those who direct the counsels of the next few years of Italian policy, while the Monarchy of Italy is as yet unsettled.

"Another embarrassment," said my distinguished visitor, "arises from our relations with France. By the victories of Magenta and Solferino, France has aided us to constitute the Kingdom of Italy. We owe her a debt of gratitude, and we cannot act altogether independently of her. But her policy must, under present circumstances, be a weak and wavering one with regard to Italy. Her Executive is

paralyzed by the opposite claims of two contending parties. On one side the Ultramontanes require her to support the Papacy; on the other, the Liberals urge her to enfranchise Italy. The former appeal to her as the 'fille ainée de l'Eglise;' the latter remind her that her Emperor is the 'élu du peuple,' and that her flag has ever floated in the vanguard of Liberty. Hence in her conduct to Italy she one day speaks the language of the Middle Ages, and on another that of 1789."

"Another difficulty is from the condition of the People of Italy. They have a fanatical attachment to the *externals* of their religion, its splendid ceremonial and pompous worship: and if any attack were made on those externals, they would resent it with furious frenzy. But as to the *vital essence* of Christianity,—as a moral system regulating their practice and requiring their obedience,—they have no faith in it. They are fanatical, and yet sceptical; superstitious, and yet irreligious. This temper of the People renders it very difficult for the Government to make any movement toward religious Reformation. Our Rulers fear to encounter popular commotions, excited

by the Priests. What then is to be done? The *People* must be *educated.* Their minds must be informed and enlightened by intelligent, calm, and learned writers as to the true principles of the ancient Church of Italy. The Government ought to give a moral support to all such well-conducted endeavours; and when the popular mind is thus prepared, then the Government may act openly and boldly. The movement of Passaglia and the clergy associated with him is a very important one. The Italians will not accept a Reformation from England, or from any foreign country."

My friend expressed an opinion that English propagandism of an ill-considered kind had done much to retard the progress of Reformation in Italy, and to prejudice the Italian public against Protestantism. "The Italians," he said, "are excessively sensitive in this matter; they are influenced by national pride to such a degree, that they imagine that there is scarcely any thing good which is not of Italian growth; and that Italy has no need of learning from any other country, but has a prescriptive right, even from the time of her

Ciceros and Virgils, to be the Teacher of the world. Therefore the course of all wise reformers will be to show to the People of Italy that genuine Reformation is a *restoration of Italian Church polity;* that it is *not* an *exotic*, but of *indigenous* growth ; and then there is some hope that it may be accepted in Italy,—but not otherwise."

A remarkable circumstance occurred at Turin not long afterwards, which illustrates the truth of the above remarks. A poor man prayed to the Madonna to reveal to him some lucky numbers for the lottery; he had a dream, in which, as he imagined, she suggested to him a *trio* of numbers. He made his purchase accordingly, but the numbers turned out blanks. In revenge for this delusion, he attacked the image of the "Madonna della Consolazione," when borne in procession through the city to the Superga, and mutilated it with a hatchet. The mob was enraged, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not been rescued by the soldiers, and he was conveyed as a madman to a *lunatic asylum.* Surely the charge of lunacy ought to be shared by those

financiers, who make the Lottery a source of state revenue, and by those Ecclesiastics, who set up and parade images in the streets, in order that they may be adored by the people.

But to return.

The distinguished person, whose opinions I have just recorded, added this observation: "In my judgment the most favourable place in Italy for making such efforts in behalf of Reformation, is Milan. Its literature, its arts, its science, its commerce, its intelligence, the learning and respectability of its Clergy, compared with those of other parts of Italy, the ancient independence of the Milanese Church, its peculiar ritual and usages,—all these give to the Church of Lombardy a claim to take the lead in the great work of religious restoration." If this work is delayed, the worst consequences may ensue. Italy will drift away from Popery into Infidelity; and then it will perhaps see such scenes as were witnessed by France in 1790.

The struggle between the spiritual and temporal power is waxing more and more violent and bitter. Cavour promised a "libera Chiesa in libero Stato." But how is this pro-

mise realized? If you ask the advocates of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, they will tell you that the Cardinal Archbishop of Fermo is a prisoner at Turin; the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples is under persecution; no less than sixty Bishops are in distress or banishment; Monsignor Carli was put into a common prison; the Bishop of Fossombrone has been brought up before the Tribunal of Pesaro. The worst of all wars,—a civil war excited by religious passions,—may break out in Italy, unless wise conciliatory measures are adopted to avert it.

I visited the Cathedral. Near it is the Arcivescovado, or Archbishop's Palace. It is now occupied by soldiers. The Archbishop, Monsignor Fransoni, was banished from Turin in 1850, and died at Lyons on the 26th of March last. The Archdiocese is under the government of the Vicario Capitolare, Canonico Zapputa.

Will the vacancy in the Archiepiscopal See of Turin be filled up?

Monsignor Fransoni was nominated by the late King, Carlo Alberto, and was created

Archbishop by the Pope in the Consistory of the 24th Feb., 1832. This was the usual course, by which appointments to Bishoprics had been made for some time in Italy. The Sovereign nominated, the Pope consented, and granted "bulls of institution." The *Concordats*[5] between Kings and Popes have deprived the People, the Clergy, and the Metropolitans of their ancient rights; the People and the Clergy lost their right to take part in the elections of Bishops, and the Metropolitans of Provinces lost their right of *confirmation* of Bishops elected by the Clergy and People.

Now that the two contracting parties to the *Concordat* are no longer agreed, but are at variance with each other; now that Victor Emmanuel is opposed to Pius IX., and Pius IX. to Victor Emmanuel, what is to become of the *Concordat?* How are Bishops to be nominated and appointed? This question, which met us at Milan, presents itself here also at Turin; and the remarks made on the state of affairs there, are applicable here[6]. The two Archbishoprics of the two most im-

[5] See above, Vol. i. pp. 19—22, and pp. 60—65.

[6] See above, Vol. i. pp. 56—72.

portant cities of northern Italy are vacant, besides thirty-two Bishoprics in other parts of the Italian Kingdom.

The fortunes of the Italian Monarchy may depend in no small degree on the proper determination of this question. The Papal power is the great obstacle to the establishment of that Monarchy; and the power of the Pope is maintained by its dominant influence over the Italian Episcopate, and by the authority of the Episcopate over the Clergy; and as long as the hierarchical element is constituted on its present principles, there can be no reasonable prospect of security for a Monarchy which holds a large part of the territory that was once under the Papal dominion; and which proclaims its determination to establish itself at Rome, and to make it the capital of Italy.

I cannot leave Turin without a grateful record of kindnesses received from the distinguished diplomatist who is the representative of the Crown of England at the Court of the King of Italy—his Excellency Sir James Hudson, K.C.B.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PARIS.

Wednesday, July 2nd.—Left Turin by railway at eleven in the evening to Susa; where we took the Diligence, drawn by twelve mules and two horses; crossed the Alps by Mont Cenis; a bright starlight night; grand mountain scenery; rocky torrents; outline of the hills reposing in the stillness of the night; here and there a solitary knot of houses, with vast stones piled on their roofs to prevent their being swept away by the storm. Beautiful effect of the mountain peaks just gilded by the first beams of the rising sun; wild flowers of rich colours growing in the crevices of the rocks at the side of the road. The heavy Diligence dashed at a rapid rate down the zigzag road of the descent into the valley below; and after a short halt we went on to St. Michele, where we again embarked on

the Railway, which carried us by Chambery, Aix les Bains, Macon, Dijon, &c., through a succession of beautiful scenery, luxuriant with rich verdure of orchards and vineyards, to Paris, where we arrived at an early hour on Friday, July 4, Hôtel de Hollande, Rue de la Paix.

Went to the Church of St. Germain Auxerrois; a funeral service was going on; it was for the obsequies of a young girl, whose body, clothed in white, was laid on a bier, with a chaplet on her breast. The father and male friends were on one side, the female relatives on the other; the bier was surrounded with candles; the *feet* of the deceased were toward the high altar, as is prescribed by the Roman Ritual in the case of the *laity;* at the funeral of a *Priest*, the *head* is toward the altar.

A Priest came forth from the Sacristy, and a Sub-deacon, bearing a cross; and the former uttered a Latin prayer to God that He would forgive the sins of the deceased, and that the angels would carry her soul into Paradise ("in Paradisum deducant te angeli"). Is not this rather a tardy wish? He then sprinkled the body with holy water; the Sub-deacon made the responses in Latin.

The prayers, which were few, were hurried over rapidly; no sentences of Holy Scripture were read for the comfort and instruction of the people.

At the conclusion of the service, the father of the deceased girl passed by the bier, wiping away the tears from his eyes; the mourners sprinkled the body with holy water; it was then carried out, and they followed.

I have often heard that Roman Catholics have been much impressed by the solemnity and beauty, and much affected by the consolatory language, of the English Burial Service, which has been sometimes used in Italy in an Italian translation. I believe that it was said at the funeral of the daughter of a celebrated Hungarian exile, and that the effect produced upon those who heard it was very touching and impressive.

At no time is the human heart so well prepared to receive holy impressions, and to profit by the teaching of Christianity, as at a funeral. The Church of Rome seems to forget this. Can it be, that she has a proud pleasure, a contemptuous disdain, in showing her power, and in squandering away her opportu-

nities of pouring the balm of consolation, which God's Word affords, into bleeding hearts, and of spiritualizing their sorrow, and of fixing their minds on the awful realities of Death, Judgment, and Eternity? Her people look to her for bread, and she gives them a stone. They hunger and thirst for the promises and comforts of the Gospel, and she puts them off with prayers in a dead language, and with the fumes of a little incense, with the glare of lighted candles, and with the sprinkling of holy water.

She professes, indeed, to feel deep sympathy with Christian mourners, and in evidence of this feeling she appeals[1] to the consolation she affords them in the doctrine of Purgatory, and of Indulgences, and Masses for the dead. But if her compassion were real, would she not supply them with those blessed medicines for grief which are given to the Church by the great Physician of souls? would she mock their sorrow with mere idle ceremonies, and with unscriptural and anti-scriptural doctrines, and not rather adopt the language of the Apostle, referring to the blessed truths which

[1] See above, Vol. i. p. 180.

the Holy Ghost inspired him to teach, "*Comfort* one another with *these words*[2]?"

Sunday, July 6th.—We attended the services at the English Church early in the morning, and in the evening.

To-day being the Octave of St. Peter's Day, there were two sermons in his honour at the Madeleine, one at 10 A.M., the other at 3 P.M. The preacher of the former said that "all created intelligences must bow to St. Peter, as if he were the Son of God on earth." But did not St. Paul resist him? The assertion of the Preacher was extended by him to the supposed successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of Rome. And nothing was said concerning the Holy Spirit, whom Christ sent, to be "the other Comforter" in His own place[3]. The sermon was delivered with much energy, not to say vehemence, which rendered a good deal of it inaudible. The afternoon sermon was by a Dominican friar, and contained nothing remarkable.

Since the time of Ravignan and Lacordaire, no one of equal power has, I believe, appeared in the pulpits of Paris. Père Félix is pro-

[2] 1 Thess. iv. 18. [3] John xiv. 16.

bably the most distinguished among its present Preachers. One characteristic of the pulpit eloquence of France is that even its most popular Preachers have borrowed largely their most admired *morçeaux* from others. This was remarkably the case with the Abbé Desgenettes[4], and even with Ravignan himself.

During Vespers an officer of the Church came round to each of the congregation, and exacted three sous for each chair; and workmen were busy climbing about the cornices of the church, taking down the black hangings of a funeral.

A distinguished French layman, a member of the *Institut*, made a remark to me on the change which has recently come over the religious Art of France, and which shows itself in a striking manner in this Church of the Madeleine.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the painters of pictures of the Blessed Virgin

[4] As has been shown in some interesting articles by a writer thoroughly conversant with the Ecclesiastical affairs of France,—the Rev. Dr. Godfray, of Beau Séjour, Jersey,—in the Christian Remembrancer for July 1861, and Jan. 1862.

were accustomed to represent her in the act of *adoring* her *Divine Son*. This is the case in those beautiful pictures by Credi, which were lately exhibited in England.

In course of time, the painters and sculptors proceeded to display her sitting with the Divine Infant in her arms, and not unfrequently they gave greater prominence and dignity to *her* than to *Him*. "But now," said my friend, "you see they have taken away the Divine Child from His mother's arms, and they exhibit the Blessed Virgin *standing as a goddess* on the altars of our Churches, with her hands outstretched towards the people, as if she alone were the Arbitress and Dispenser of all grace and favour to man,"—"comme dispensatrice de toutes les graces," were his words. I observed this attitude also in the statue of the Blessed Virgin in the *maison mère* of the "Sisters of Charity," in the Rue du Bac, No. 140. This change has been introduced since my former visit in 1854.

Here is one of the legitimate consequences of the new dogma of the "Immaculate Conception." It has given a shock to the religious *worship* of the French Church, which

will not easily recover from it. It has also produced an injurious effect on the *morals* and *practice* of the people.

The Divine Author of Christianity has revealed a moral law. He preached the Sermon on the Mount. He said[5], "If ye love Me, *keep My Commandments.*" "Ye are My friends, if ye *do* what I command you." "And he that heareth My words, and *doeth* them *not*, I will liken him to a man that built his house on the sand." "Why call ye Me, Lord, Lord, and *do not* the things which I say?"

But no such moral code has been promulgated by the Blessed Virgin. She could not speak with authority. She had no mission from heaven to be a legislator. And she is not invested with the office of Judge. Her votaries are not encountered by any such stern sentences of ethical jurisdiction as those, which have just been recited, from the lips of Christ. Indeed her worshippers do not scruple to avow that they fly to her for succour and shelter from the judicial severity of her Divine Son. The worship of the Blessed Virgin re-

[5] John xiv. 15; xv. 14. Matt. vii. 26. Luke vi. 46.

quires no searching scrutiny of the heart, no rigid examination of the conscience, no penitential self-condemnation, self-abasement, self-reproach, and self-denial. It has no yoke of obedience, under which the proud Will of man must pass ; it has no Cross of suffering, on which the rebellious flesh must be nailed. It is a spiritual sentiment, a rapturous ecstasy, almost an amorous passion. The object of this sentiment, of this rapture, of this passion, is a daughter of Eve, clothed by the fond imagination in a beautiful sunlight of pure sympathy and unalloyed love; and the more sinful her votaries are, the more glory redounds to her from the exercise, which they crave with impassioned words, of her unconditional mercy:—

"Stella Matutina,
Salus Infirmorum,
Refugium Peccatorum,
Regina Angelorum,
Ora pro nobis."

The Mariolatry, which is now dominant, has therefore an Antinomian tendency; and it will assuredly be as licentious in its effects, as the most dissolute forms of Anabaptism, or as

the most extravagant rhapsodies of Familism, which desolated Germany and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A religious observer of human affairs cannot fail to remember also, that every Nation,—especially every Christian Nation,—which pays to the creature that worship which is due only to the Creator, cannot hope to escape the indignation of Him who has revealed Himself to be a jealous God, and "will not give His honour to another."

Is not, therefore, the Mariolatry of France fraught with omens of evil, social, political, and religious, to all who glory in it, especially to those who are the appointed Teachers of divine truth, and the guardians of the divine honour—the French Hierarchy?

CHAPTER XL.

PARIS (*continued*).

VISITED the Sorbonne. But how little signs are there in the "Quartier Latin" of the cultivation of theological learning! Few books of any solidity appear in the shops, and scarcely any are now in course of publication; little else but dry epitomes,—and at the same time how rich are the shops near St. Sulpice in "*imagerie*" for the Churches!

Went to Notre Dame. The Church was closed, being under repair. The exterior has lately been greatly improved in beauty, but so much has been done to it recently, that it has almost lost its *antiquity*.

I procured a history of the Church, and Metropolitan See. It states that the late Archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Sibour, had a *Coadjutor*, the Bishop of Tripoli. Might not

this example be imitated to advantage in many Dioceses of England?

Posted on a wall near Notre Dame was a printed *Affiche*, purporting to be a Notice of a proposal for the erection of a new Church in one of the arrondissements of Paris. "Projet de la construction d'une Église dans le 14ème Arrondissement." This Advertisement was put forth by the "Board of Public Works," the "Bureau des travaux de l'*utilité publique*." It contained a long and minute specification of the various official forms that were to be gone through at the *Préfecture* and the *Mairie*, before the first stone of the new Church could be laid.

No wonder that the sight of a new Church in France is so rare an occurrence. The proposal for such a work is not the spontaneous fruit of individual piety and charity: it does not flow forth as a generous outpouring of personal self-sacrifice, or of the piety of a Parish, where rich and poor join together in making free-will offerings to God's service; and the work itself is not carried on with the cheerful alacrity of Christian hearts glowing with ardent love of God, and with a fervent

desire for the salvation of souls. It is not an inspiration of grace in the heart; but a mere official creation of an unimpassioned Board of "*public utility;*" it is subjected to the rigid restraints of tedious technicalities, and is hampered by a hundred hindrances, before it can reach its completion.

This is a very fertile topic, and suggests many reflections on the temper of the Church in France, and on its present relations to the Monarchy and to the Nation.

The Government of Louis Philippe established a bureaucratic domination over the primary schools of France; and practically excluded the Parochial Clergy from the Parochial Schools, and threw the Education of the People into the hands of secular Teachers. He thus alienated the Bishops and Clergy from the Monarchy; he withered and blighted their national sympathies, and drove them into Ultramontanism almost in spite of themselves. Being repelled from the Throne of France, they flew off with rapid precipitation toward the See of Rome. They were acted on by two forces; one *centrifugal*, which drove

them *from* the Monarchy; the other *centripetal*, which attracted them *toward* the Papacy.

Another cause of this Romeward tendency and movement of the Gallican Church is to be seen in the inquisitorial interference of the State in religious matters, such as the erection of Churches; which are dealt with in the same way as Hôtels de ville, bridges, prisons, and railway stations. Tithes have been abolished, Church-rates do not exist in France; a new Church cannot be built, an old Church cannot be repaired, without the intervention of Government. This *patronage* of the Government, which dates from the days of the Organic Articles and Law of 1802, has estranged the affections of the Church from the Government, and has placed the Church in an *extra-national* and *anti-national* attitude. It has made it *Anti-gallican* and *Ultramontane*. It has produced a result, which was never anticipated by Napoleon I., who framed the Organic Articles, nor by Louis Philippe, whose policy in Church matters was in accordance with their spirit. It has given a predominant influence to the *Papacy* over the *French Church*. It has done more for the

extension and triumph of Ultramontanism, than could have been effected even by Hildebrand himself.

This ultramontane movement in France has shown itself in various ways, especially in the sacrifice of all the Gallican *Breviaries*, as well as of the Gallican *Liberties* (which are now denounced by the French Church as *servitudes*), and by the adoption of the *Roman* Breviary[1] with all its ultramontane teaching in politics as well as religion, in the Dioceses of France.

In regard also to England, this policy has been very unfortunate. It has created a strong prejudice in the minds of the French Episcopate and Clergy against *national* Churches generally, and against the *Church* of *England* in particular. They argue from their own experience. They see the evils of *secular interference* in their own Church, and they cannot imagine that there can be such a thing as secular *alliance* without similar evils. They apply this inference to the Church of England. They imagine that the English Reformation was only a secular movement for the

[1] See above, Vol. i. pp. 74, 75.

aggrandizement of the Crown, to the damage of the Spiritualty, and they regard the Church of England as a servile and obsequious vassal of the civil Power.

Hence it is, that they resent and reject all attempts to return to the principles of primitive Christianity, and to restrain the encroachments of the Papacy on the rights of the People and the Crown, and to constitute a national Church.

The Papacy has been aggrandized, and the Monarchy has been weakened, by the Erastian encroachments of the Temporal Power on the spiritual liberties of the Church.

In addition to this, it will be remembered that all the Bishops of France take an oath of vassalage to the Pope; and that all the Parochial Clergy are under the authority of their Bishop; and that their Curates—*Vicaires* and *Desservants*—are removeable by the Bishop at pleasure.

Hence the Pope has acquired uncontrolled power over the Hierarchy and Clergy of France: and the Nineteenth Century beholds this remarkable phenomenon, that while his

temporal power is shaken to its foundations in Italy, the Papacy now possesses more influence over the Hierarchy and Clergy of France under a Sovereign elected by the People, than it ever had under the sway of the Bourbons.

M. Guizot has recently endeavoured to disabuse the French nation of some of its erroneous impressions with regard to the English Church. The positions which he held as one of the most distinguished Ministers of Louis Philippe, and as French Ambassador in England in 1840, give additional weight to his words. In the opinion of English Churchmen, the remarks of M. Guizot will not be considered as flattering, but they deserve careful consideration. If they are studied in France, they may, perhaps, serve as a counterpoise to the prejudice against National Churches. He writes as follows[2]:—

"A great deal has been said of late, and is still said, especially *in France*, about the Anglican Church; but it is still, in my opinion, *little known and much misunderstood.*

[2] *Guizot*, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de mon Temps," chap. xxx. tom. v. p. 169. Paris, 1862.

It is reproached with deriving its origin, not from the religious sentiments of the public, but from the tyranny of Henry VIII.; with having, at its very commencement, scandalously varied in its profession of faith; with having appropriated to itself the spoils of the Catholic Church; with having, in its turn, tyrannized over the Dissenters, and ill-treated the inferior Clergy; finally, with a want of independence in having and accepting for head of the Church the lay head of the State.

"There is much that is true in these reproaches, and I shall not seek to extenuate them by entering upon a discussion of how much they may be exaggerated. I will not even stop to ask what powers, what human institutions can bear to have their origin investigated without exhibiting the violences and vices sown every where by the hand of man, when it arrogates to itself the honours of creation. One fact makes itself especially apparent in the history of the Anglican Church, and that is, that as it has consolidated itself and grown, it has singularly detached itself from and freed itself from the restraints of its origin. It is rich, rich in property which

belongs exclusively to itself; it exercises a wide influence over the great mass of the English population; it is seated in the House of Peers: by its origin, by its position, it seems to be essentially engaged in politics; it was at first placed in intimate association with and almost in subservience to them; and yet, at the present day, it may be said to have no political pretensions whatever; it is exclusively occupied with its religious mission: never was a Church so richly endowed, so highly placed and invested with such powerful moral action, known to content itself so wisely with its spiritual functions, and seek to interfere so little in the civil government of the country.

"Does this arise, it may be asked, from want of independence in its own field of action, or abject submission to the lay authority whose supremacy it recognizes? By no means: and those persons are much deceived, who allow themselves to form their judgment in this matter according to logical inference on the first impressions of history. When the Reformation of the sixteenth century first broke out, one of its principal causes was the eager endeavour of the laity, both princes and people,

not only to liberate the State from the domination of the Church, but also to assume their own place and part in the government of the Church itself.

"Such had been the progress of civilization and the movement of public opinion, that throughout a great portion of Christian Europe, lay society refused any longer, even in matters of religious discipline, to submit, without participation or control, to the absolute authority of ecclesiastical society, or the clergy; and from the conflict raised by this social fermentation, three systems resulted: first, the Catholic system, that is to say, the independent autonomy of the Church governed, as to matters of religion, by the clergy alone; secondly, the mixed system, that is to say, the independent autonomy of the Church governed in matters of religion by ecclesiastics and laymen combined, in different degrees and under different forms; thirdly, Erastianism, that is to say, the abolition of the autonomy of the Church, and the transfer of its government into the hands of the lay sovereign of the State.

"I have no intention of here entering upon a

comparison of these different systems; I mean only to lay them down and characterize them. The two last, although differing greatly, inasmuch as one maintains, the other abolishes the independent autonomy of the Church, both equally derive their origin from the increasing influence of lay society, and its desire to emancipate itself from the absolute control of the Clergy. Erastianism prevailed in England and in the national Church, while the system of mixed government continued to prevail, on the same soil, among most of the Dissenting sects, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, &c. But although in principle subjected to the lay government of the State, and at first its docile and sometimes even servile instrument, the Anglican Church was not long in becoming, in point of fact, extremely free with regard to spiritual matters. By some of its fundamental maxims, by its aristocratic organization, by its special interest, it has remained the natural and very useful ally of the civil power. But for a long time past the Crown and the Parliament have almost ceased to meddle more in its peculiar and internal affairs than it does itself in the

affairs of the State. The national Church shares in England in the general liberties of the country. The complete establishment of the free *régime* has had this salutary consequence—that the temporal power and the spiritual power, united although they be nominally in the same hands, are yet, in practice, separated the one from the other, and mutually respected. The instincts of right and of good sense have prevailed to such a point that Church and State, though confounded in appearance, are in reality distinct, and confine themselves each habitually within their natural domain.

"At the same time that the general condition of English society was enabling the English Church to recover in this way a part of the independence which it wants in principle, this Church was living in the presence of non-conforming sects, persecuted for a long time, and oppressed, but never annihilated, nor ever entirely deprived of their English liberties, and always in possession of their religious independence. This continued rivalry has prevented the Church of England from falling into indifference, apathy, laxity,

worldliness, or servile obsequiousness to the Civil power. . . . She is certainly not exempt at present from doubts and deviations, and from that antagonistic fermentation which is now agitating all Christendom. Like the Catholic Church, and like the Dissenting sects, and like continental Protestantism, she has her infidels, her sceptics, her cavillers; but it betrays great ignorance of facts, or great blindness of passion, to believe that she is in a state of decomposition or decline. Even in the midst of the general crisis through which Christianity is now passing, the Church of England has become in our days, and is becoming every day, more fervently and more effectually Christian. The fundamental articles of Christianity, gravity of morals, sentiments of piety, faith, zeal, and Christian charity, are there growing incontestably: her churches are rapidly increasing; her congregations are more numerous and devout; her works of piety at home and abroad prosper and abound.

"When I arrived in London in 1840, and saw with my own eyes the Church of England at work, I was struck with the fertile activity

which it was displaying, and since that time the facts which I have collected or witnessed have convinced me that the movement of Christian regeneration has not ceased to develope itself in the bosom of that Church, in spite of counteracting influences."

These remarks of M. Guizot may perhaps have the effect of persuading the French Bishops and Clergy that the idea of a National Church is not so monstrous a chimera as they seem to imagine it to be; and they may be more willing to listen to his statements, not only on account of his high character and his personal acquaintance with England, but because he has shown himself a partizan of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope as a safeguard against the encroachments of secular Powers.

His remarks also may be of value to ourselves, especially when they are viewed in relation to the present condition of the French Church. Gallicanism is almost extinct in France. Ultramontanism reigns supreme in her Ecclesiastical Seminaries, in the pulpits of her Churches, in her Ritual, in the pas-

torals of her Hierarchy. It has achieved this triumph in a country which was once proud of its spiritual independence. It has *not* achieved it by its own strength, or because it is congenial to the feelings of the French People, or even of the French Clergy and Hierarchy. No; Ultramontanism has not only trampled under its feet the Gallican liberties, but it has also crushed the French Episcopate. It has deprived the French Metropolitans of their ancient privileges, and has despoiled the French Bishops of their Apostolic dignity, and has reduced them to mere shadows and cyphers, slaves and bondsmen of the Papacy[3]. Ultramontanism has grown by the errors of politicians. It has been strengthened by the encroachments of secular powers upon the spiritual liberties of the French Church. These encroachments have brought the secular power into hatred and contempt, and have made the theory of a National Church to be

[3] For a specimen of the language of the French Episcopate we may refer to the words of the Bishop of St. Claude, who thus speaks,—"Can we forget the Supreme Pontiff, him *who has made us what we are*, from whom is *derived our jurisdiction?*"

odious to the Spiritualty in France, and to be only another name for arbitrary tyranny and Erastianism. The French Bishops and Clergy cling to Ultramontanism, not so much because they love it for its own sake, but because they have bitter experience of excessive secular domination in ecclesiastical matters, and because they regard the Papacy as a powerful bulwark against the further encroachments of the Crown[4]. It is earnestly to be desired for the sake of France, England, Europe, and the world, that the French Nation, and especially the French Hierarchy and

[4] A remarkable instance of the exercise of the Ultramontane spirit in France was displayed not long ago by the condemnation of the "Histoire de l'Église de France," in Twelve Volumes, by M. l'Abbé Guettée. It had received the approval of many French Bishops; and in the times of Bossuet it would have probably been a text-book in French Ecclesiastical Seminaries; but it was below the required standard of Ultramontanism. It was suddenly put into the Index at Rome, where the Author was pilloried between Proudhon and Eugène Sue, without any previous notice. He was thenceforth abandoned by the Archbishop of Paris and the French Episcopate; and now devotes his time, talents, and learning to the service of Catholicity in his two periodicals, the "*Union Chrétienne*," and the "*Observateur Catholique*."

Clergy, may be induced to modify their sentiments with regard to National Churches; and that the Church of England may be enabled to present to their eyes a realization of the idea of a National Church, loyal, but not servile; patriotic in its principles of civil polity, and scriptural, primitive, and catholic in doctrine and discipline. The peace of Europe and the World depends, in no small degree, on the realization of this theory. If the Church of France is to continue as it now is; if it is to be Ultramontane in its principles, and if, as is the necessary consequence, it is to be infected with the contagion of all the doctrinal corruptions, and with all the miserable superstitions, falsehoods, and idolatries, sordid merchandise of religion in legendary fables, lying wonders, and fabulous apparitions, which flow from that source; if the Papacy is to have dominant sway over the French Hierarchy and Clergy,—then the consequence is inevitable; the People of France will recoil from Religion, and be goaded into Infidelity; they will rise up in an indignant spirit of exasperation against the Ministers of Religion, and against Christianity itself, and

France and Europe may have to rue a Revolution more antichristian and anarchical than that of the last Century. This apprehension prevails, I believe, widely at the present time in the minds of thoughtful persons in France, and it rests on reasons, which, as they have cause to know, are too well grounded on facts.

It is true, that the dynasty of Napoleon III. wields at present an enormous power, derived from its vast standing Army, and from the number of persons who occupy posts under Government, or who have their fortunes invested in the public funds, or who are employed in public works, and are interested in its preservation. And this dynasty commands also at present the support of the Hierarchy and Clergy, on account of the protection which is given to the Pope by the imperial arms.

But the question is, Has it any *moral* force? Are not the appearances of prosperity, which now meet the eye, treacherous and illusory? Are not the sympathies of the imperial dynasty with Ultramontanism preparing the materials of a vehement revulsion against it? Is it not probable, that its self-identification with

the Papacy, combined with the suppression of the freedom of the Press, and of the voice of Parliament, may eventually recoil upon it with a violent reaction? And, on the other side, where are the religious influences in France, which could control such an explosion? The spirit of true Christianity has been stifled: it has little hold on the People; and the feeling of Loyalty to the Throne can hardly be said to exist.

The city of Paris has been embellished with almost magical rapidity. It has thus lost much of its traditional interest and ancestral associations; and it would be difficult to identify the sites in which the great events of its civil history occurred. This enlargement of streets is regarded by many as favourable to the public security. Demolition and reconstruction are supposed to be instruments of a shrewd State-Policy. But it may be recollected as a remarkable circumstance, that no sooner had Louis Philippe encircled Paris with fortifications, and almost placed his own capital in a state of siege, than his dynasty fell; and it is not unfrequently the case, that when the material and mechanical appliances of a Macchia-

vellian Policy, or of physical force, seem to have been organized with consummate prudence and skill, and to have been executed with success, then some untoward circumstance occurs, which scatters all their schemes to the winds, and shows that Thrones cannot long exist, unless they are grounded on moral and religious foundations, and are established in a People's heart.

I heard from a French Ecclesiastic, who was a chaplain in a large hospital, that he attended a patient there, who had been distinguished in the days of the barricades, and who communicated to him the plans which the Revolutionists had already formed for counteracting the advantages which are afforded to the soldiery by the spacious streets of "nouveau Paris." They are of too savage a character to be recounted here. This beautiful capital, with its fairy enchantments, and with all its external charms and graces of noble mansions and spacious streets, and almost interminable avenues, contains beneath its surface the seeds of moral corruption and ruin. Its present condition may be compared to the lovely scenery of some volcanic mountain, a fair

Vesuvius clad with bright verdure, and rich in the genial produce of luxuriant vines and olives, and smiling beneath a clear blue sky, with the waters of a beautiful bay slumbering in tranquillity at its feet; but all this beauty is but a treacherous dream, and within the dark crater, hidden from the sight, are smouldering the combustible elements which will suddenly burst forth from their prison with a violent eruption, and overwhelm that fair region with a flood of fire.

May not these remarks be extended farther? Europe is at peace. But enough has been said, even within the brief compass of these volumes, to show that the antagonistic principles and passions of two great conflicting parties are now in active operation, and are marshalling their forces for a desperate struggle. On one side, the widely-extended and well-organized power of the Papacy, and the Papal Hierarchy and Clergy, combined together in a strong bond of union, are prepared to make a strenuous effort proportioned to the magnitude of the crisis, and to the momentous interests at stake. On the other side is a spirit

of popular indignation, excited by a sense of inveterate wrongs, and hurried to extremes by the exorbitant pretensions of Ultramontanism, and by the glaring corruptions of the Roman Church, and ready to break forth in violent paroxysms of rage against Religion itself, which is identified in the popular mind with the extravagant claims of the Papacy.

If these two forms of Antichristianism should come into collision, the result will be fatal to true Liberty. For a time, at least, it is most likely, that the anarchical and sceptical spirit would be dominant; till the People, wearied with their own excesses, would sink, in sullen exhaustion, beneath the shelter of a military despotism. The only defence against the danger which threatens Europe seems to be in the maintenance of constitutional Monarchy on the foundation of genuine Christianity. If the Church of Italy, purged of its Papal corruptions, could be restored to its primitive purity; and if the Church of France could be harmonized with the Nation, and the Nation be harmonized with the Church, on the principles of piety and loyalty,

as taught by the Gospel; then the storm might be averted which now threatens Europe and the world, and Christianity might recover her hold on the alienated affections of the people.

CHAPTER XLI.

LETTERS FROM FRENCH BISHOPS.

I HAVE recently received letters from several Bishops of France, with reference to the principles of the English Church and Reformation. These communications indicate the feelings of distinguished French ecclesiastics of the present day toward the English Church; and as they may suggest salutary cautions to ourselves, and as they are not of a private character, I make no scruple in submitting to the reader some extracts from them.

In order that justice may be done to the remarks of the writers, I will set them down in the words of the originals.

The Bishop of A—— says, "Le projet de faire adopter l'Église Anglicane comme une

branche de l'Église Catholique sera aussi stérile dans ses résultats, qu'il est peu fondé dans sons principe. Récevez mes vœux pour votre entrée dans Église Romaine, veritable et unique Église de Jésus Christ, trésor de l'ancienne Angleterre, et si je ne me trompe pas, éspérance prochaine de l'Angleterre de nos jours.—Fiat ! Fiat !"

The Archbishop of A—— expresses a similar hope.

The Bishop of B—— writes thus: "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam" (Matt. v. 10), and applies this text to Pope Pius IX., and says that the *persecutions* which the Church of Rome is now suffering are a mark of its truth; and he appeals also on its behalf to the examples of those members of the English Church who have recently been converted to Romanism: "Quo animo, tot ac tantas inter angustias, Romani Pontifices, Episcopi, et Sacerdotes . . . Deo adjuvante, invicti steterint, sæpe et imprimis in præsente sæculo Britannia mirata est; nec pauci loco doctrinâque nobiles, quorum illustrissimus—(he here mentions the name of a distinguished English convert to Rome)—tantâ virtute

commoti, persecutionemque veræ Ecclesiæ insignem notam meritò æstimantes, ad unitatem centrumque fidei regressi sunt. Eandem tibi gratiam Deus concedat!"

The Bishop of another diocese expresses his regrets that a person in whom he takes a lively interest, "n'appartienne pas à la sainte Église Catholique Romaine, dépositaire et organe de la vérité révélée. Je suis convaincu" (he adds) "qu'un examen attentif de nos doctrines, joint à la prière, aurait bientôt dissipé les incertitudes, et fait luire aux yeux la lumière de la vérité."

The Bishop of L—— appeals to the well-known passage of S. Irenæus (iii. 3), on which I have already offered some remarks[1]; and to sundry passages in the Epistles of S. Cyprian, (Epp. xlv. lii. lv.), which may perhaps be best explained by S. Cyprian's own conduct in his controversy with Pope Stephen.

The Bishop of M—— also appeals to the number of learned persons who have quitted the Church of England for that of Rome.

"Animadvertas velim" (he says) "plurimos et doctissimos viros Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ hisce

[1] Above, pp. 225, 226.

modernis temporibus adductos esse ad profitendam fidem Romanam, et dimittendam Ecclesiam Episcopalem Anglicanam."

He asserts that the true Church is a living witness of the faith, and that the Church of England cannot be a true Church, on account of her conduct in what is called the "Gorham Case," in 1850.

"Quis inveniet illam persistentiam et durationem (in doctrinâ verâ), in suo esse et genere, in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, quæ nuperrimè, cùm ageretur de peccato originali, et necessitate Baptismi, ministrum quemdam utrumque negantem è suo gremio excludendum pronuntiare non ausa sit?"

The Bishop of another diocese argues that the Church of England cannot be a true Church, because it wants unity. And he refers to the abortive attempts of Protestant communions to frame "a symbol of faith;" and he appears to identify the Church of England with some of those religious bodies which joined together for that purpose in the "Evangelical Alliance." He thus writes,—

"Non ita pridem in Prussiâ (Berolini), ac recentiùs Genevæ, undique convenerunt varia-

rum orbis regionum acath lici, eo fine ut de quibusdam saltem fidei articulis, si fieri possit, consentirent, quo constitueretur tandem *unicum*, prioribus successivè eversis et rejectis, symbolum; sicque quodam saltem religionis vinculo inter se adunarentur innumeræ eorum Ecclesiæ. Nec minus constat, eos in vanum laborâsse, ut ne de uno quidem articulo potuerint convenire, si Dei existentiam exceperis, ita ut post collatas omnium sententias sanctissima Christi religio *in merum et simplicem Theismum*, seu, si malis, *in Deismum abierit, et evanuerit.*"

There is much matter for reflection in these words. May we not be reminded by them, that we should be doing injury to the true religion of Christ, if we were led away by the feelings of a mistaken charity, to associate ourselves in acts of religious communion and worship with those Protestant societies which have fallen away from the doctrine and discipline of the holy Apostles, and of the primitive Catholic Church; and that thus we should be damaging the cause of the Reformation, and of the Church of England, and promoting the interests of Rome?

The same learned Prelate thus writes, in a second letter to the Author:—

"Immutabilis semper fuit Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ fides . . . . Ea igitur, et quidem sola, est *Apostolica*, ratione doctrinæ, et ratione regiminis, ratione doctrinæ legitimè datæ et acceptæ ab ævo in ævum, et ab Apostolis ad nos usque transmissæ. Est etiam exclusivè *Catholica*, cùm toto orbe diffusa sit, verè Civitas Dei, supra montem posita, ad quam ab ævo confluent omnes gentes; mundumque maternis brachiis amplectitur.

"Est denique verè et perfectè *una*, et quidem duplici unitate, fidei nempe et regiminis, quæ quidem ambæ unitates se invicem fovent et fulciunt. Hæc omnia tuâ pace dixerim, reverende et carissime frater, tuæque sapientiæ et religioni subjecerim, &c."

The Bishop of N——, in reply to an assertion that the Church in England was not the cause of the unhappy schism which is now rending Christendom, says:—"Fugistis, ab exordio Reformationis, depravatione fidei, et auctoritatis Ecclesiæ contemptu, in vias rebellium; et posteà in pertinaciæ vestræ pœnam, vindicibus Ecclesiæ fulminibus longè à

legitimis Christi Domini Nostri castris fugati estis, et ejecti."

In answer to the objection that Rome has invented new and anti-scriptural doctrines, and enforces them as terms of communion, and thus makes it impossible for us to communicate with her, the same learned Prelate alleges, that Vincentius Lirinensis, in his Commonitorium, teaches that the one true faith is always in a process of development; and he applies this observation as an apology for the new dogma of the Immaculate Conception:—"Ea est conditio dogmatis, quod de Beatissimâ Virgine novum et inauditum nuncupas. Definitio quidem recens; objectum autem vetus et primitivum, non hodie natum est, sed tantum effloruit." "Non nova dogmata obtrudit Ecclesia Romana, sed vetera tantum elucidat; quod tibi Deus det intelligere, ut tandem ad veram Christi Sponsam, quæ tibi mater est, revertendi et desiderium et felicitatem habeas."

The Bishop of S—— urges as an objection to the English Reformation, its *civil* origin; and he represents the Church of England as the creature and slave of the State:—"Pace

tuâ dixerim, Reformationis Anglicanæ causa adeo desperata videtur nobis, ut nullâ hominum industriâ fulciri possit. Ex quo enim nobilissima illa Ecclesia Anglicana, à centro unitatis violenter avulsa, desiit esse filia Pontificis, qui personam Christi sustinet in terris, *facta est serva principis terreni*, cui certè nulla potestas est in ordine religionis; unde liquet in corpore animam deficere."

He also refers to the recent defections from the Church of England. He bears a grateful testimony to the kindnesses received in England by expatriated French Bishops, and expresses an earnest hope for our reunion with Rome:—"Tristissimam Anglicanæ Reformationis sortem benè viderunt illustrissimi viri in Universitatibus Britanniæ, qui post longa studia, et longiora certamina, candidè fassi sunt, se extra orbitam projectos viam non novisse quæ ducit ad veritatem et vitam. Cum igitur optimè intelligerent, satis non esse Christum ex animo revereri, nisi et immaculatam Sponsam ejus audiamus, quæ in suo magisterio cœlestis Sponsi fidelissimum organum est, suum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ nomen

dederunt, in eâ pacem assecuti quæ exsuperat omnem sensum.

"Nec vehementiùs quidquam exoptamus, quàm ut Christiani omnes, imprimis vero Anglo-saxones, in unum corpus coalescant, et in unum ovile congregentur sub uno Pastore. Etenim immemores non sumus generosæ liberalitatis, quâ inclytâ Anglorum natio, tot nominibus clara, Decessores nostros, à sedibus suis depulsos et patriâ extorres excepit, et alteram eis patriam habere permisit. Ideò sine intermissione oramus, ut extincto schismate fratres dissidentes ad unam eandemque veteris Ecclesiæ suæ fidem reversos complecti liceat; et spes magna nobis est, pia vota nostra suo tempore adimpletum iri, ad honorem et salutem gentis Anglicanæ, et ad summam consolationem Sanctæ nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ."

The above extracts represent, in a summary manner, what is alleged by some of the Chief Pastors of France at the present day in behalf of the Church of Rome, and against the Church of England.

The reader will not desire to find, in this

place, a critical examination of these allegations[2], but he will probably not dissent from the opinion, that at the present time, when the questions here raised have become matters of urgent importance to the peace of families and of nations, it is fit, and almost necessary, that they who have any influence in society, (and who can be said to have none?) should be prepared for the candid and intelligent examination of these topics. If the Church of England is, as we believe she is, grounded on the foundation of Holy Scripture interpreted and expounded by the teaching of Ancient Christendom, especially as embodied in the Creeds, and in the usage and practice of the primitive Catholic Church; and though not exempt from human imperfections, if she has the witness of the Divine Presence in her inner life, and in her external expansion, and does not impose any error as a term of communion with herself,—then we may cherish the hope that a candid examination of the objections urged against her, may, by the

[2] Abundant materials for a reply to them may be found in the publications recently put forth by the "Anglo-Continental Society."

Divine blessing, have the salutary effect of strengthening us in our allegiance, and of rendering our love to her more intelligent, and our labours for her extension and invigoration more energetic, and our zeal in her behalf more fervent, and of enabling us also to communicate charitably and wisely to others some of the spiritual blessings which have been mercifully vouchsafed to ourselves.

We left Paris on Tuesday evening, July 8, and arrived safely in the precincts of Westminster Abbey soon after noon on the following day; and had the privilege of joining together in praise and thanksgiving to God for His merciful protection of us and ours, in the evening service of the Church on that day.

THREE LETTERS

ON

THE PRESENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COURT OF ROME AND THE KINGDOM OF ITALY.

THREE Letters, addressed to a statesman in Italy, have been lately published at Turin, with the following Title, "Sulla Guerra della Corte di Roma contro il Regno d' Italia," 1862. As they concern the subject of the present work, and present in a short compass the circumstances of the Ecclesiastical difficulties in which the Italian Government is now placed, and suggest a solution of those difficulties, and show how they may be improved into a glorious opportunity for placing the Monarchy on a sound religious foundation, and for restoring the Italian Church to her ancient liberty and purity; and as the principles stated in them have an important bearing on *other* Churches also, they are here

submitted to the reader, in an English dress. Some of their substance and language has been adopted in the foregoing pages.

LETTER I.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Rome, 25th June, 1862.

SIR,—I venture to submit to you the following considerations in reference to the present crisis of public affairs in Italy, and especially with regard to the conflict which is assuming daily a more serious character, between the Kingdom of Italy and the Court of Rome.

It can hardly be anticipated that the King of Italy will be able to contend with success against such a well-organized power as that of Rome, either by physical force or by merely political arguments, which may eventually lead to revolution. The Church of Rome will gain strength by seeming to be unjustly oppressed; and the spirit of liberty itself, unless regulated by reason and religion, may degenerate into licentiousness and anarchy, may even become dangerous to the Monarchy, and may ulti-

mately recoil on those who have invoked its aid. If the Court of Rome is allowed to appear to have, as it were, a monopoly of Religion, she will eventually triumph over the secular power which has abandoned Religion to her patronage and protection.

On the other hand, it may be reasonably expected, that the kingdom of Italy will be firmly established, if it is enabled to show to the Italian people and to the world that the King's Government has Christianity on its side, and that the war which the Court of Rome is now waging against the King of Italy is not—as the Pope pretends, in his recent Allocution—a religious and holy warfare, but that it is in many respects an anti-christian one.

This assertion may be proved in the following particulars among others:—

1. The Court of Rome, by a decree of the Roman Penitentiary, has forbidden the Bishops and Clergy of the kingdom of Italy to take part in public prayers for their King and Country on the National Anniversary of the Statuto, June 1st.

It ought to be made manifest to Italy and

to Europe, that this Papal decree is an irreligious one; that it is opposed to the commands of God in Holy Scripture that "supplications, prayers, and intercessions should be made for all men, for kings and for all that are in authority" (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2), even for heathen kings, even for a Nero. Hence it is evident that the Roman Pontiff, who, by the instrumentality of Italian Bishops, has suspended loyal Priests from the exercise of their sacerdotal functions, on account of their obedience to the precepts of Almighty God in Holy Scripture commanding them to pray for their king, and has thus deprived them of their daily bread, is not performing the part of a true Vicar of Christ, but is rather chargeable with the sin of antichristian cruelty and usurpation.

2. The Bishop of Rome, in his recent Allocution to the Bishops assembled in the Consistory of June 9th, uttered strong vituperative language against the King of Italy, and denounced him in the face of Christendom as an enemy and persecutor of the Church, because he prevented the Bishops of Italy from obeying the summons of the Pope, desiring

their attendance at the Vatican, for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, on Whitsunday last.

But it ought to be shown to the world, that, according to the laws and usages of ancient Church polity, the Bishop of Rome has no authority to summon Bishops from other countries without the previous permission of the Sovereigns of those countries. The General Councils of the Church in early times, such as the Nicene Council, the Constantinopolitan, and that of Ephesus and of Chalcedon, were not summoned by Bishops of Rome, but by Christian emperors. According to the teaching of St. Paul, "every soul," whether lay or spiritual, "ought to be subject to the higher powers" (Rom. xiii. 1), in all things not repugnant to the Divine law; and it is the duty of Christian sovereigns to take care that the Bishops of their own realms do the proper work of their calling, as the ancient Christian Emperors, such as Constantine and Theodosius, acknowledged and affirmed. And, therefore, the King of Italy would have been wanting in the discharge of his duty to God and his people, if he had permitted the Bishops

of Italy to quit their flocks at Whitsuntide, in order to attend the Bishop of Rome, and to take part in a religious ceremony, which, there is too good reason to believe, was devised to maintain his temporal power.

By such arguments as these, the charge of irreligion urged against the King of Italy may be thrown back upon the Bishop of Rome; and it may be proved that the Bishop of Rome is guilty of usurpation and of calumny, and that the King of Italy has religion on his side, as well as sound reason and enlightened policy.

3. At the present time there are, unhappily, many Episcopal Sees vacant in Italy, and many of the king's subjects are thus left without the spiritual care of chief pastors. And why? Because the Bishop of Rome will not give investiture to those ecclesiastical persons who might be nominated by the King to those Episcopal sees.

But it ought to be shown that this claim of the Pope to the right of investiture is also an usurpation. It is not older than the times of Gregory VII. In the primitive ages, Bishops were appointed and consecrated without any

reference to the Bishop of Rome. And if the King of Italy were to nominate Bishops to the vacant sees, and were to have them consecrated by other Bishops, without the intervention of the Pope, he would be restoring the practice of ancient Christendom, and would be recovering a right which belonged to Christian princes and people in the best ages of the Church, but has been wrested from them by Bishops of Rome.

These instances, which might be multiplied, may suffice to show that the King of Italy has now in his hands the means of contending against the Court of Rome by arguments which would deprive the Pope of those religious pleas on which he rests his claims, and would approve themselves to all thoughtful persons, and would display the King of Italy in the character of a champion of true religion and genuine Catholicity, as well as of liberty and loyalty.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

&c. &c.

LETTER II.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Aug. 25, 1862.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge with thankfulness the favourable reception you gave to the letter which I had the honour of addressing to you from Rome, on the 25th of last June, concerning the present conflict between the King of Italy and the Court of Rome.

That letter, having been published in different parts of Italy, has attracted some attention, and I feel much pleasure in recording that it has been approved by persons whose judgment is entitled to respect.

Having been requested to offer some explanations on one of the topics discussed in that letter, namely, on the claim which is urged by the Court of Rome to control the nomination of Bishops to Episcopal Sees now vacant in Italy, I venture to ask permission to address this second letter to you upon that subject.

The Bishop of Rome puts forth the following claims with regard to the nomination and ordination of Bishops:—

1. He will not permit any Bishop to be consecrated to any See without his consent.

2. He asserts that the power of all Bishops is derived from the Church of Rome, and that Bishops have their Episcopal power "by the grace of the Apostolic See."

3. He requires all Bishops, at their consecration, to take a solemn oath of subjection and vassalage to himself, by which he binds them to "maintain the royalties of St. Peter against all men"—that is, to uphold the temporal power of the Papacy as well as the spiritual; and makes them engage to "persecute and impugn to the utmost of their power all who rebel against their Lord the Pope"—in which category he would doubtless include the King of Italy and all his adherents.

This Oath may be seen in the Roman Pontifical, p. 63 of the edition printed at Rome in 1818[1].

[1] This Oath, as well as that mentioned in the next paragraph, is a novel usurpation, contrary to ancient ecclesiastical law and usage. See De Marca, De Con-

4. When a Bishop is raised to the dignity of an Archbishop or Metropolitan, even his Episcopal power is revoked by the Bishop of Rome; and he is not permitted by the Pope to do any act as a Bishop, till he has sued for and obtained the Pallium from the Court of Rome, and has renewed his oath of subjection and vassalage to the Roman Pontiff.—See p. 87 of the Pontifical, ed. Rom. 1818.

In the face of Italy, Europe, and the world, I here confidently assert that these acts of the Court and See of Rome are arbitrary usurpations; and that they ought to be resisted and rejected by all who love the Gospel of Christ, and are zealous for the peace and prosperity of His Church, and for the unity and liberty of the kingdom of Italy.

Permit me, Sir, to confirm this assertion by a memorable example.

One of the Churches of Italy, which is now virtually deprived of its Bishop, is that of Milan. In common with many others who have lately entered the doors of its magnifi-

cordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii, vi. c. 7, p. 262, ed. Venet. 1770. Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Pars i. Tit. xv. cap. ii. p. 77, ed. Col. 1748.

cent cathedral, I have mourned over the spiritual widowhood of that ancient and illustrious Church, and I have asked myself this question—Is the Court of Rome to be permitted to bereave the Church and people of Milan of a successor to S. Ambrose? Is the Bishop of Rome to hold the keys of that cathedral, and to prevent any one, as long as he pleases, from mounting the Episcopal throne? How was S. Ambrose himself elected? Was he appointed by the Bishop of Rome? No. Had the Bishop of Rome any share in his election, confirmation, or consecration? No; none whatsoever. All the circumstances of the appointment of S. Ambrose to the See of Milan in the year 374 are well known. They may be seen in the account of his life by Paulinus, and in the ancient Church Histories of Ruffinus, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen. In none of these is there a single syllable concerning the intervention of the Court of Rome in his election, confirmation, or consecration. And can it be supposed that S. Ambrose, the greatest Bishop who ever filled the See of Milan, and one of the most glorious lights of the Church

of Italy and Christendom, would have consented to be chosen and ordained in an irregular and uncanonical way? Assuredly not. And if the consent of the Court of Rome was not necessary for the election and consecration of a Bishop of Milan in the fourth century, and if none of the Catholics of Milan ever dreamt of asking that consent in that age, why should it be needed now? Are we better than the primitive Christians? No. Let us return to the principles and practices of the age of S. Ambrose, and then we may hope that, by God's grace, other Ambroses will arise to fill the Episcopal chairs of Milan and of other cities of Italy.

But perhaps, Sir, it may be said, that the case of S. Ambrose was a single and solitary one. Let me, therefore, cite a testimony from the pages of one who is an unimpeachable authority on this subject. I will not refer to any learned Protestant writer, such as Isaac Barrow[2] or Joseph Bingham[3], or to the works

[2] Barrow on the "Pope's Supremacy," chap. vi. pp. 369—390, vol. vi. ed. Ox. 1818.

[3] Bingham, "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book ii. chaps. xvi. and xvii., and Book ix. chap. v.

of the celebrated jurist, Hugo Grotius, or of the Portuguese canonist, Antonio Pereira [4], who have treated this question with much labour and research; nor will I appeal to the erudite Doctor of the Sorbonne, Louis Ellies Dupin [5], who gives clear evidence on this subject; but I will cite the words of a Roman Catholic Archbishop of the most illustrious See of France, an Archbishop of Paris, Peter de

[4] Who have defended the royal right of investiture of Bishops.—See "Grotius de Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra," xv.—xxx.; and Pereira, "Tentativa Theologica," Part i. sec. xi., who says, "It is fully proved, from all historical monuments and councils, that the ancient elections and confirmations of Bishops were for many ages lawfully managed in the Church without any dependence on the Roman Pontiff;" see also Ibid. sect. viii.

[5] Dupin, de Antiq. Eccles. Disciplina, p. 32. "The limits of the Roman Patriarchate do not appear to have extended beyond these provinces, which were subject to the 'Vicarius Urbis,' and are called *suburbicariæ* by Ruffinus. Beyond these, the Metropolitans, *even in Italy*, ordained their own Bishops, and were ordained by them. But in course of time the Bishop of Rome invaded their jurisdiction." See also Van Espen, Jus Eccles. Pars i. Tit. xiv. p. 69.

Marca [6]. He thus writes: "The election and ordination of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, which was made by a Synod of all Italy, convened by the decree of the Emperor Valentinian, is a proof that the Bishop of Rome had no authority at that time in the ordinations of the Metropolitan of Milan, with which he did not then intermeddle; and it was not till a late age that he usurped that authority." He also adds, that "the Bishop of Rome's power of ordaining was restrained in ancient times to the *suburbicarian churches*;" that is, to those churches which were within a certain distance of the *urbs* or city of Rome; but that it did not extend to the *Italic* dioceses, which were then distinguished from the *Roman*, and did not comprehend the cities of Bologna, Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Pavia, Padua; and that the Bishop of Rome had no share whatever, in primitive times, in the appointment, confirmation, or consecration of Bishops of Ravenna, Aquileia, Milan, Genoa, or Turin. "In the

[6] De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. vi. cap. iv. See also Père Thomassin, "Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina," ii. 2, c. 8, n. 3—11.

twelfth century," says De Marca[7], "the Metropolitans of each province had the sole authority of examining and confirming the elections of Bishops within their provinces; but at that time an appeal to the See of Rome was introduced, and thus great violence was done to the ancient canons of the Church."

I do not therefore hesitate to assert that, if the Metropolitan See of Milan were now filled up without any reference to the Court of Rome—as it was filled up in the age of S. Ambrose—such an act would be in entire accordance with the true principles and practice of the ancient Catholic Church; and I also boldly affirm, that a Metropolitan of the Church of Milan, so constituted, would and ought to have the principal voice in the consecration and confirmation of the Bishops of his province, duly elected and appointed, without any reference to the Court or See of Rome.

Similar observations would apply to many other Italian Sees—as, for instance, the Archiepiscopal See of Turin, now vacant.

[7] Ibid. lib. vi. cap. iii.

With regard to the assertion of the Bishop of Rome, that all Episcopal power is derived from himself, it may suffice to quote the words of Father Thomassin [8], who says, "that the first Bishop who styled himself a Bishop 'by grace of the Apostolic See,' lived in the thirteenth century, A.D. 1250."

I might proceed to prove, that although the Bishop of Rome, as far as he is a *Bishop* of the *Church*, possesses *Episcopal* power by *divine right*, yet, as far as he is a *Metropolitan* or *Patriarch* of a *particular territory*, his jurisdiction is of *human institution;* and that its limits may lawfully be altered according to the exigencies of the Church, from time to time; and that he cannot rightly exercise any authority over any part of the King of Italy's dominions without the consent of the Sovereign, to whose care that kingdom is committed by the Providence of God.

No Episcopal *See* ought to be *kept vacant* beyond a certain time. This is forbidden by the Canons of the ancient Church. The General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, fixed

[8] Thomassin, ibid. i. lib. i. cap. 60.

three months as the limit within which every Episcopal vacancy ought to be filled up. It is therefore a sacred duty of the Crown of Italy to lose no time in providing Bishops for the vacant Sees in its dominions. The People of Italy have a solemn claim upon the Crown; they have a right to enjoy the spiritual superintendence of faithful chief Pastors. Let pious, learned, zealous, and loyal men be chosen to fill the vacant Sees of Italy, and let them be duly consecrated, according to the laws and usages of the ancient Church.

The Roman Pontiff is a hard taskmaster: he has treated the Bishops of Italy with cruelty, in order that he may aggrandize himself. By unjust and unrighteous oaths, which he imposes upon them, and which are of no validity, and ought to be abjured because they are unjust and unrighteous, he has degraded the Bishops of Italy into bondsmen of the Court of Rome; he has forced them into a position of antagonism to their King and Country; he has made them vassals of the Roman Papacy, in order that they may be enemies of the People of Italy. They are, therefore, entitled to compassion. Let not the Government of

Italy visit the sins of the Roman Court on the head of the Italian Episcopate. Let not the Parliament of Italy be hurried on by eager and angry passion to enact such laws as those now in contemplation, which would restrain the Bishops of Christ's Church from publishing even a Pastoral Charge, without the previous consent of the civil power. Let it not heap new disgrace on the Bishops of Italy, by changing them from vassals of the Pope into bondsmen of the State. But let it conciliate the Italian Episcopate by acts of kindness and consideration. Let the Statesmen of Italy on the one side, and the Bishops of Italy on the other, endeavour to meet one another as brethren in Christ, upon the peaceful ground of primitive Christian Antiquity. Even the civil tumults, with which Italy is now threatened, supply an additional reason for mutual conference and friendly co-operation between the civil and spiritual powers. Let them retire from the political storms of the age of Pius IX., to the serener atmosphere of the days of S. Ambrose. Then the rights of the Italian Crown will be preserved, the sanctity of the Altar will be unsullied, the welfare of the

People of Italy will be promoted. There will be loyalty in the Church and piety in the Senate, and Italian Unity and Liberty will flourish side by side, with fresh strength and beauty, beneath the benign and genial shade of ancient Catholic truth.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

LETTER III.

To His Excellency, &c. &c.

Sir,—A visit which I paid a short time ago to the magnificent cathedral of Milan, induced me to make some reflections, which were communicated to you in my letter of the 25th of last August; and, with your permission, I would now resume the subject, in its relation to the present struggle between the Government of Italy and the Court of Rome.

The Metropolitan Church of Milan, the Episcopal See of S. Ambrose, is now without

an Archbishop; the Province of Milan, containing many Suffragan Bishops, is without a Metropolitan. Ordinations of the clergy, Confirmations of young persons, cannot be solemnized. The flock is without a pastor; the body without a head.

This unhappy state of things suggests many important reflections on the present condition of the Church in Lombardy, and in other parts of the kingdom of Italy.

1. In primitive times, *the Clergy and People of a Diocese elected their own Bishop;* and when the Roman Empire became Christian, the Emperors exercised considerable influence in the appointment of Bishops. For example, the Emperor Valentinian (A.D. 374) approved the election of S. Ambrose at Milan.

The Bishops of each Province, when they had been *elected by the Clergy and People*, and approved by the Crown, were *confirmed* by the *Archbishop* or *Metropolitan* of the Province, and were *consecrated* by him, and by two or three other of the suffragan Bishops of the Province. For example, S. Ambrose, the Archbishop or Metropolitan of the Province of Milan, consecrated the Bishops of

Brescia, Como, Bergamo, Pavia, and other places, as may be proved from his letters[9], which are still extant.

In those times the *Bishop of Rome* had *no voice in* the matter, except with regard to the Bishops of the *suburbicarian* Churches, i. e. those who had sees in the neighbourhood of the *urbs* or city of Rome.

2. In course of time, the *Emperors* assumed to themselves almost the exclusive share in the nomination and investiture of Bishops, to the prejudice of the ancient elective rights of the Italian *Clergy and People.*

In the seventh, and three following centuries, the Emperors still had the principal power in the nomination of the Popes of Rome. But in the eleventh century, Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand), on the plea of restoring their ancient rights to the *Clergy and People*, contested the question of investiture with the *Emperor Henry IV.*, and succeeded in wresting it from him (A.D. 1074).

The Emperor being thus deprived of this power, the Pope and his successors next

[9] See S. Ambrose, Epist. 60, and Tillemont, Mémoires, vol. x. p. 37, ed. Bruxelles, 1732.

directed their efforts against the *Clergy and People*, and finally succeeded in forcibly transferring the nomination of all the Bishops to *themselves;* and they devised a *new oath* (to which I referred in my second letter), which they imposed on all Bishops at the time of their consecration, and by which they bound all the Bishops of the Church of Christ in Italy as vassals to the Roman See, and slaves of the Court of Rome[1].

3. The *Council of Bâle*, in A.D. 1433—1436, struggled against these Papal usurpations, and endeavoured to restore the right of election to its ancient and lawful possessors; and in 1438, the *Pragmatic Sanction* at Bourges, under Charles VII., King of France, gave a civil, as well as ecclesiastical support and authority to its decrees.

4. But in 1516, Pope Leo X. induced Francis I. of France to abrogate the Pragmatic Sanction, and to accept a *Concordat* instead.

By virtue of this *Concordat* the Pope allowed the King to absorb into himself the elective privileges of the People and Clergy,

[1] Above, p. 333.

and the King permitted the Pope to swallow up all the rights of the Metropolitans in the confirmation and consecration of Bishops. It was commonly said at the time, that in framing this Concordat, "the Pope and the King gave to one another what did not belong to them," and what they ought to have defended, namely, the rights of the People, Clergy, and Bishops, and the sacred inheritance of Christ's Church.

Other sovereigns of Europe were beguiled by the Court of Rome to imitate the example of Francis I., and the influence of that Concordat is still felt in almost every part of the Continent, especially in Italy.

5. In the year 1693, there were *no less than thirty-five vacant bishoprics* in France. And why? Because the French King, Louis XIV., had a quarrel with the Court of Rome, and the Court of Rome would not grant bulls of investiture to the King's nominees.

In order to serve his political purposes, the King of France made a humble submission to the Pope, and the Pope vouchsafed to give bulls of institution to the ecclesiastics named by the Crown to fill the vacant sees.

6. In 1801, Napoleon Buonaparte, then First Consul of France, and President of the French Republic, endeavoured to restore the public profession of the Christian religion in France; and with this view he entered into negotiations with the Pope, Pius VII.

He also, in imitation of Francis I., made a *Concordat* with the Papacy, first for France, and then for Italy. He did *not* restore the rights of election of Bishops to the Clergy and People, nor did he restore to the Metropolitans the right of confirming and consecrating Bishops. But he claimed for himself the sole power of nominating to all the Episcopal Sees in France, and nearly to all those of Italy; and, in order that the Pope might support him in the exercise of this patronage, he conceded to the Pope a *veto on his appointments.* "*This*," he said afterwards, "*was the greatest mistake of my reign;*" for he had thus made the Papacy necessary to himself, and had not provided for emergencies, in which the Court of Rome might be opposed to the interests of France.

Such an emergency actually occurred. Pope Pius VII. excommunicated Napoleon, then

Emperor, on the 10th June, 1809. What, then, was to be done? How could Bishops be nominated in France and Italy? The Pope would not accept the nominees of the Emperor. Napoleon convoked the National Council of Paris in 1811, and at its meeting he expressed his regret, "that the most illustrious and populous churches of the Empire were vacant, because the Court of Rome refused to give effect to the Concordat of 1801." On the 5th August, 1811, the National Council of Paris decreed, "that no Episcopal See ought to remain vacant more than a year," and "*that if*, after the expiration of six months, *the Pope refused to institute* the Bishops nominated by the Crown, then the *Metropolitan* of the *Province* should *give the requisite institution;* and in case of a vacancy in a Metropolitan See, the senior Bishop of the Province should give institution."

This decree of the Council of Paris was submitted to the Pope, and approved by a Brief dated September 20th, 1811. Nor was this all. On the 25th January, 1813, a new *Concordat* was drawn up and signed by the Emperor and Pope at Fontainebleau, in which

the above-named decree of the Council of Paris was inserted, and extended to the kingdom of Italy, with the exception of six *suburbicarian* Sees, and ten others in France or Italy, to be agreed upon.

But the fortunes of Napoleon were then beginning to wane; and on the 24th March, 1813, the Pope retracted his assent to the Concordat of Fontainebleau; and by the fall of Napoleon and the return of the Bourbons, the Court of Rome was raised to the same position in which it had been placed by the Concordat of 1801, which the Emperor Napoleon deplored "as the greatest mistake of his reign." It has retained that position in Italy till the recent campaign of Magenta and Solferino, and until the union of Lombardy, Tuscany, Naples, and Sicily, and a large part of the Roman States, beneath the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy.

7. Precisely the same difficulty has now arisen in Italy as occurred in France under Louis XIV. and Napoleon I.

No means now exist for filling up any vacant Episcopal See in Italy.

How will this difficulty be solved?

Will Italy become Presbyterian? Will the Church of S. Ambrose accept the regimen of Calvin? Certainly not. Will the King of Italy imitate Louis XIV. in making a humble submission to the Court of Rome? Or will he endeavour to obtain from Pius IX. a Concordat like that which Napoleon extorted from Pius VII. at Fontainebleau, and which that pontiff afterwards revoked? No. It may be confidently predicted, that he will not degrade his royal dignity by such humiliating and fruitless attempts. The history of the past forbids it. The King of Italy will not sacrifice the ancient and undoubted rights of the People, Clergy, and Metropolitans in the appointment of Bishops. While he maintains the just prerogatives of the Crown in this matter, he will also respect the liberties of his subjects. He will emancipate the Bishops of Italy from their vassalage to the Court of Rome.

Let, then, the Crown and People unite with the Bishops and Clergy in an honest and cordial endeavour to understand their relative rights, and to maintain them. A glorious opportunity is now presented to them. Let

them not let it slip. Let them join together in a deliberate resolution to place learned, pious, and loyal Bishops in the vacant Episcopal Sees, according to the laws and usages of the ancient Italian Catholic Church. Then the Altar and the Throne will not be opposed to each other in a disastrous and destructive rivalry. The Throne will be established by loyalty and consecrated by religion, and the Crown of the Sovereign will shine with radiant light, like a halo of Peace.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

[In illustration of the foregoing Letter, it may be well to repeat what has been already stated in this work, that the following Episcopal Sees are now vacant in the Kingdom of Italy:—

In Piedmont	7
Liguria	1
Sardinia	6
Lombardy	2
Parma	1
Tuscany	6
The Marches	3
Umbria	2
Naples	3
Sicily	3
Total of Vacant Sees in the Kingdom of Italy in October, 1862	34]

THE END.

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